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PERFORMANCE PRACTICE OF BACH'S CHORAL WORKS

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Preface

A year apart, in the April issues of 1973 and 1974, the AMERICAN CHORAL REVIEW published Wilhelm Ehmann's *Performance Practice of Bach's Motets* and Alfred Dürr's *Performance Practice of Bach's Cantatas.* Both texts had theretofore not been available in English though they had assumed a stature of standard documents of modern Bach interpretation.

In the case of Ehmann's essay, originally issued in *Musik und Kirche,* Vol. 30, Nos. 2–6, the need for an English version had become the greater since the author, whose performances and recordings with the *Westfälische Kantorei* had attracted the attention of many young American conductors, was in later years a regular visitor at the Westminster Choir College in Princeton.

The need for an English version of Dürr's text was underlined by the fact that his two-volume work *Die Kantaten von Johann Sebastian Bach* (Bärenreiter and Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1971), from which the essay was drawn, had in itself replaced an English standard work, William Gillies Whittaker's *The Cantatas of Johann Sebastian Bach* (Oxford University Press, 1959). As the publishers of Whittaker's work explained, the author had not lived to see the book through the press, and they had found themselves unable to deal with fundamental revisions necessitated by the revolutionary findings of new Bach research to which, next to Georg von Dadelsen, Dürr himself could lay foremost claim.

Ehmann's and Dürr's discussions of Bach performance, representing different points of departure to begin with, have been both questioned and refined in the rapidly advancing course of modern Bach scholarship. As spokesman for a soloistic interpretation in Bach's choral works, Ehmann was followed by Joshua Rifkin who in his writings and performances carried Ehmann's view to an interesting extreme (see AMERICAN CHORAL REVIEW, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, January 1986). Dürr, speaking with the unquestionable authority of principal editor for the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe,* was supported as spokesman for a purely choral interpretation in Christoph Wolff's epochal monograph *Der Stile Antico in der Musik Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1968) and by Robert L. Marshall's responses to Rifkin's publications.

The arguments thus raised were brought into new focus through a paper presented by Richard Benedum, one of Wolff's students, before the American Musicological Society at its 1986 meeting in Cleveland. Gerhard Herz, the senior among American Bach scholars most versed in the questions concerned, had been invited to give a response, and we are indebted to Professor Herz for revising and expanding his statement for inclusion in this new edition of Ehmann's and Dürr's studies.

A.M.

Wilhelm Ehmann

Performance Practice of Bach's Motets

The Romantic *A Cappella* Tradition

Bach's motets occupy a special place among his sacred works, and this exceptional position has made them the object of unusual scholarly attention and musical controversy. Four of the six motets were written in Leipzig on commission for burial services. The normal Leipzig liturgy did not provide for such works, and Bach's motets were never performed during regular services. In the churches of St. Thomas and St. Nicholas it was customary to sing a motet related to the gospel, usually in Latin. These, however, had always been selected from the famous collection *Florilegium Portense* (1603–21) by Erhard Bodenschatz. In continued use for over a century, this traditional repertoire also supplied the music for all kinds of official celebrations. Bach's German motets stood apart from the religious music of their time as works reserved for special functions. They did not have public character, such as the cantatas and Passions or the music for festive and state occasions. Their form seemed antiquated and not in tune with current taste, which favored the modern cantatas with their recitatives and arias—in short, "operatic" music.

But this was exactly the reason why Bach's motets could remain alive after the death of their creator, why their musical life could continue. These delicate and unique compositions did not depend for their existence on the order of service as did the cantatas and Passions. They did not need the liturgy to become living sound. When, with the dawn of the Age of Enlightenment, soon after Bach's death, the order of service shrank, his cantatas and Passions lost their place in the liturgy and their *raison d'etre*. They disappeared in the obscurity of archives. Not tied to the liturgy, however, the motets kept their place within the mainstream of living music, if only as museum pieces with an aura of antique splendor. In fact, of all of Bach's sacred music, they are the only works that have been performed continuously without interruption until our own time. We can quote several witnesses. Thus, the lexicographer Ernst Ludwig Gerber, whose father had been a pupil of Bach, writes: "I still remember having heard one of them [the motets] on the first day of Christmas, 1767, and being deeply moved." The Leipzig writer Johann Friedrich Rochlitz, a former student at the *Thomasschule*, confesses: "Already as a schoolboy (since 1782) I had to take part in performing Bach's eight-part motets. . . . Heaven knows that I only learned to sing them securely out of fear of severe punishment." During Mozart's visit to Leipzig, a Bach motet, *Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied*, was performed.

This story is likewise told by Rochlitz in a report that is frequently quoted. He says that Bach's motets are "preserved like a sacred relic" in the *Thomasschule*, and that Mozart, after "he had looked through everything of Sebastian Bach's that was there, requested a copy and valued it very highly." A great number of such copies of Bach's motets must have been in circulation and use, especially among musicians in Thuringia and Saxony. Friedrich Schneider and Franz Marschner, two nineteenth-century composers trained in Leipzig, still speak of this in their time. The report on the sources for the *Bach-Gessellschaft* edition likewise testifies to this. The personal relationship of musicians to Bach's motets, independent of liturgical or social order, is akin to the prevailing attitude towards *The Well-Tempered Clavier* during the same period. Pupils and friends handed down the works from copy to copy and gathered circles of enthusiasts around them until, in 1803, Johann Gottfried Schicht made the motets available to the public in the first printed edition. This edition, however, was smoothed out and abridged to suit rationalist taste without much concern for authenticity.

In this manner the performance of Bach's motets was kept alive from Bach's own time until the general revival of his music in the nineteenth century. They did not have to be rediscovered like the cantatas and Passions. Of course, the motets entered the nineteenth century entirely too ingenuously and were readily adapted to its practices. When the Berlin *Singakademie* under Karl Friedrich Zelter centered its activity around Bach's works, the motets again were the first works to light the spark of enthusiasm in true music lovers. It was Zelter who introduced Goethe to the works of Bach, and in the correspondence between the poet and Zelter we find years later Goethe's statement referring to the motets: "I said to myself, it is as if the eternal harmony were conversing within itself, as it may have done in the bosom of God just before the Creation of the world." Through Zelter's revival the motets entered the repertoire of nineteenth-century choral societies, often forming its mainstay up to our own time.

Bach's motets lived on as purely vocal music. Because there was a certain continuity in their manner of performance, because they were not viewed from a critical vantage point, they made their way, unburdened by stylistic considerations, into the vocal practice of the Romantic era from Herder to Thibaut, from Mendelssohn to Brahms, from Proske to Winterfeld. No questions were asked; they were drawn into contemporary practice as a matter of course. Johann Friedrich Doles, second in the succession after Bach as Cantor in Leipzig, already seems to have performed the motets as strictly vocal music—like his own motets.

Thus, the performance practice of Bach's motets and their style as an art form was determined decisively by the *a cappella* restoration of the

nineteenth century. They became subject to the romantic limitations of the term *a cappella*, which admitted only vocal music to this category. This *a cappella* movement was inspired by the "motet" style of Palestrina. Sanctioned as a sort of musical catechism, this style became the measure of all things. Everything that was termed "motet" (and this medieval term was applied in the course of centuries to the most varied musical forms) was generally understood and interpreted à la Palestrina. And certainly, the motet music of this pontifical choirmaster was performed in the Sistine Chapel without instruments, but the papal church in Rome may well have been the only place in Europe where instruments were consistently banished from the performance of polyphonic church music. This view also subjected Bach's motets to that stubbornly defended vocal dogma that critically puritanical circles had in mind as an ideal of artistic redemption in the midst of a century of instrumental excesses. Bach's motets entered the select circle of music "cleansed of all instrumental bacteria," no more to be confounded by the idolatry of sounding metal and ringing bells. It is significant that in the Latin nations, who had a more naive relationship to the Palestrina tradition and its vocal ideal, Bach was typed as the "German Palestrina." Thus, it was primarily the great *a cappella* choirs that made it a point to cultivate Bach's motets, and in their typical programs the motets appear as part of a noble lineage leading from the Renaissance to the Baroque, entirely interpreted in *a cappella* style: Senfl, Palestrina, Eccard, Lechner, Gabrieli, Hassler, Allegri, Schütz, Schein, Marcello, Bach. The German line then continues with E. T. A. Hoffman, Mendelssohn, Herzogenberg, Brahms, Grell, and Reger up to the present time. Once seized by the current of the *a cappella* restoration, Bach's motets drifted along as vocal bravura pieces, and nobody gave the question a second thought or raised any objections.

These *a cappella* choirs, which determined the choral style of recent musical epochs, possessed great technical ability. And this fired their ambition to master even Bach's motets—admittedly the most difficult works of the motet literature—without instrumental support. A well-known German conductor recently related the story that, many years ago, he had asked Karl Straube, the Thomas Cantor at that time, for his authoritative advice on whether to perform Bach's motets with or without instruments. The unequivocal answer was: "If you can't perform these works without instruments, then you will just have to do them with instruments."

Bach's *A Cappella* Practice

In view of this situation, it seems advisable to turn our attention first to the historic evidence concerning Bach's motets. In this connection we must state at the outset that in Bach's time the term *a cappella* signified something entirely different from what it meant at the time of the nineteenth-century restoration whose practices we are still in the habit of following. The Romantic restoration reduced the term *a cappella* to mean vocal music exclusively. The word, which originally included a wide range of meanings, came to be used in a narrow sense. *Cappella* stood for chapel, or rather, chapel choir; its equivalent in German Protestant usage was *Kantorei*. The *cappella* and the *Kantorei*, however, included instruments, and it was an old custom of these musical establishments to add instruments with the greatest freedom as they were available and made musical sense. They doubled the choral voices or embellished them by diminutions. Michael Praetorius reports such practices in the Baroque era. At that time instruments served to add festive brilliance, replace missing choral parts, reinforce the cantus firmus, or emphasize contrast in the multichoral works. They also could add symbolic meaning or intensify the sound. Instrumentation was to be guided by the structure of a given movement. Groups of instruments were used for "registration," like the stops of an organ. A cantor approached his choral compositions as an organist did his organ works. He had to arrange them according to their basic structure and the possibilities of his "instrument." Of course, even in the earlier period purely vocal performance was possible but it was not made a rule. In Germany, as in Italy, the interpretations of the term *a cappella* remained manifold and fluid. It could mean a "*starke Musik*" containing the full ensemble of voices and instruments, or a style suggesting the vocal ideal of Palestrina as codified in J. J. Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum*, the classic manual of vocal counterpoint.

Thus, the term *a cappella*, as applied to Bach's motets, will have to be understood in the pre-Romantic sense valid in Bach's time, allowing—according to the old *cappella* or *Kantorei* tradition—an autonomous freedom of instrumentation that can be varied according to the instrumental resources available and the musical structure of the compositions concerned.

There is evidence that the use of a keyboard instrument was an integral part of the *Kantorei* practice at St. Thomas's in Bach's time. In

Das beschützte Orchester (1717) Johann Mattheson observes that in his time "there are no longer any vocalists who would present themselves in public without the foundation of the organ or clavier." When assuming office as Cantor at St. Thomas's, Bach's predecessor, Johann Kuhnau, found an old portable organ with reed stops (a so-called *Regal*) that used to be carried along when the choir sang in the streets of Leipzig. When that instrument eventually became unusable in 1720, Kuhnau acquired a new small organ. In place of the old *Regal*, however, he now selected a *Positiv* organ that was likewise portable. Under J. S. Bach this instrument served for similar purposes. It was carried along wherever there was to be music. Between 1650 and 1750 the *Thomasschule* owned four small portable organs reserved expressly for the work of the choir in school, in church services, for singing on various occasions in streets and squares, for weddings and funerals, or for serenades. Such instruments had already been an adjunct to the choir under Knüpfer and Schelle, earlier cantors at St. Thomas's, and even in the sixteenth century. Choir and small organ practically formed a unit. From other *Kantoreien*, such as Breslau and Lüneburg, organ tablatures of motets are extant, even of works for double choir. In these the entire motet is transcribed for one or two keyboard instruments: The choir was supported, perhaps sometimes even replaced, by the organ. We know how firmly Bach was rooted in the traditional *Kantorei* practice of his time. Some of his instrumentations can only be explained by practices of this kind, such as the customary employment of the *Stadtpfeifer* (town musicians) and their instruments. Bach's motets, too, are part of the firmly established musical customs of his period. Since they were written for purposes other than regular services, we have to associate their performance, as a matter of course, with the portable organ that was always present.

But the motets performed within the service were also accompanied by a keyboard instrument during Bach's time. For a hundred years before Bach the motets of the *Florilegium Portense* served this purpose. These sixty motets by German and Italian masters had to be available at all times, since they formed the nucleus of the choral repertoire at St. Thomas's and the other two principal churches under Bach's musical direction. In 1729 Bach, himself, acquired a new copy of the work since the old one seemed completely worn out. The father of the philosopher Leibniz, who taught at the *Thomasschule*, kept an exact record in his *Kirchenandachten* as to the manner in which the individual motets of the *Florilegium* were performed in the services throughout the year and on additional school and congregational occasions. To the eight vocal part books a ninth, a figured bass part, was added. Bodenschatz, the compiler of the *Florilegium* had already issued it in print—*Pars I* (1618) and *Pars II* (1621)—and commented in the title: *cum adjecta Basi generali ad*

Organa Musicaque instrumenta accommodata (with added figured bass arranged for organ and other musical instruments). This points to a highly flexible realization of the continuo doubling the choral bass. It is known that harpsichords were acquired for St. Thomas's Church in 1672, for the New Church before 1704, and for St. Nicholas's Church around 1705. Since, on the basis of the condition of the parts and instruments, the German scholar Arnold Schering believes he can prove the use of the organ as the continuo instrument in performances of cantatas and Passions, he assumes that the harpsichords placed in the churches were used for the continuo in the motets, and so he speaks simply of the "motet harpsichord." That a double-bass participated is evident from a complaint by Kuhnau (1709) that the school's string bass is "quite broken down and has been badly abused by daily use during the hours devoted to the *Exercitio Musico*." The harpsichord was by no means played as "accompaniment" in the style of concerted music, but served as a "conductor's instrument" to support the choir and keep it together. We have the report of Johann Christian Kittel, who studied with Bach during his last years, that under Bach "one of his most capable pupils always had to accompany on the harpsichord" and further, "one always had to be prepared to have Bach's hands and fingers intervene among the hands and fingers of the player, and, without getting in the way of the latter, furnish the accompaniment with masses of harmonies. . . ." Thus, the repertory of motets at St. Thomas's was firmly chained to the thorough bass. Inside the church the harpsichord may have provided this foundation; elsewhere the portable organ could take its place. If the use of a continuo instrument was taken for granted even in the lightly scored and harmonically simple motets of the early Baroque, largely aimed at clear enunciation of the text, such as the works of Gallus, Hassler, Meiland, H. Praetorius, and others, how much more did its use have to be the rule in performances of the harmonically elaborate motets of Bach's period with their interwoven abstract polyphonic lines.

In fact, we find unequivocal evidence in the original sources for Bach's motets. The performance material for the apparently early four-part motet *Lobet den Herrn, alle Heiden* includes a continuo part. Unlike Bodenschatz, Bach does not let this continuo merely double the choral bass in the style of a *basso sequente*, but in places where only the upper choral voices are singing in fugal imitation, he places the continuo part against them as an independent voice to provide a foundation, a basis for full harmony even here. Likewise, Bach fills out melodically and harmonically short rests of the choral bass with the continuo part. Where sections are particularly exposed, the lower octave is added. Here, then, we have a thorough bass in the true sense of the word—a bass that envelops all musical activity in a clearly defined harmonic fabric.

Even more revealing as to Bach's ideas of sound and texture are the sources for the motet *Der Geist hilft unsrer Schwachheit auf*, which he composed for the funeral of his Rector, J. H. Ernesti. The memorial service was originally scheduled to take place in St. Thomas's Church. Here instruments were banned on funeral occasions. Consequently, Bach prepared a set of choral parts without instruments. After a period of indecision, however, the service was shifted at the last moment to the *Paulinerkirche* of the University, since Ernesti, besides being Rector of the municipal *Thomasschule*, also was a lecturer at the University. At the University Church, however, instruments were not excluded from funeral services. Taking advantage of this situation, Bach himself wrote out instrumental parts shortly before the performance, adding strings to the first choir and woodwinds to the second choir to double the voices in unison. He also added a continuo part to support and blend both choirs. There is a similar situation in the case of the funeral motet *O Jesu Christ, mein's Lebens Licht*, which appears in the *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition as Cantata No. 118. Bach wrote this work to honor the memory of the late Leipzig City Commandant, Count Flemming (1740). At first the work was sung outdoors during the great funeral procession. Here the choir was augmented by three *Zinken* and three trombones. When, later on, during a memorial service in the *Paulinerkirche*, the deceased was again honored with the same music, this time performed indoors, the wind instruments were replaced by strings.

These facts completely clarify Bach's personal attitude toward the performance practice of his motets. Unfortunately, the ban on instrumental music during funeral rites at St. Thomas's prevented him from using instruments. But as soon as existing conditions permitted their use, he added not only a continuo but also melody instruments. His artistic concepts and ideas of sound required instrumental as well as vocal carriers of melody. Only outward circumstances and special conditions could deny these to him.

As we have seen, the motet is a musical form traditionally linked to the *Kantorei*. Bach reshaped it in the Baroque image, but it is significant that he applied to it the old *Kantorei* practices of performance and instrumentation: he doubled the voices with melody instruments *colla parte* and added a continuo part. It is of particular importance that in works for double chorus Bach adopted the principle described by Praetorius, and distinguished the two choirs from each other by contrasting instrumentation. It is also interesting that Bach took advantage of the leeway regarding instrumentation by using brass instruments for outdoor performances wherever possible. But here another aspect enters the picture. The funeral music for Count Flemming was based on a chorale. The chorale is the carrier of the word of God. The trombone, however, according to the Old Testament, was made according to God's own

command and symbolized his presence. Consequently, the use of brass instruments in the chorale signifies a symbolic underlining of the word of God. In the sound of trumpets and trombones God was symbolically present in the mind of the listener of that time.

That to this day no instrumental parts were found for the other motets need not surprise us and cannot upset our conclusions. As funeral music they were subject to the rule against instruments imposed on the St. Thomas congregation for such events. Perhaps Bach never had occasion to revive them for other purposes, so that there was no opportunity for the subsequent addition of instrumental parts as in other cases. Or existing parts might have been lost. And, finally, the instrumentalists might have looked over the shoulders of the singers at the choral parts, which they were doubling. There are sixteenth-century pictures of *Kantoreien* that give evidence of this practice. There were *Stadtpfeifer* who, in their applications, made it a point to stress their ability to play from choral parts. And Bach's work, as we have pointed out, was deeply rooted in civic musical practice.

It is instructive and a confirmation of the above that Bach had no qualms about drawing into his own musical practices the *Missa sine nomine* for double chorus by Palestrina. Significantly, he assigned *Zinken* to one choir and trombones to the other and, furthermore, added a coordinating continuo. The latter consisted of harpsichord, organ and violone. A separate continuo part was written out for each single choir. If Bach "orchestrates" the music of Palestrina, the officially sanctioned vocal ideal of the Council of Trent without hesitation, how much more autocratically must he have treated his own compositions.

Finally, the doubling by melody instruments and the use of the continuo are justified in view of general stylistic principles of Bach's work. All the forms used by Bach in his motets also occur in his cantatas and Passions. This can be shown point by point:

Chorale in simple setting, note against note—

The first and last movements of the motet *Jesu, meine Freude* and the final movement, "Du heilige Brunst" from the motet *Der Geist hilft unsrer Schwachheit auf* are identical in style with the typical final chorales of the cantatas.

Chorale in simple setting, interrupted line by line by a free arioso—

The movement "Wie sich ein Vat'r erbarmet" with arioso interjections "Gott, nimm dich ferner unser an" from the motet *Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied* is laid out like the movement "Nun ist der Herr zur Ruh' gebracht" from the *St. Matthew Passion.*

Large cantus firmus chorale fantasy—

The movement "Gute Nacht, o Wesen" from the motet *Jesu, meine Freude* and the movement "Herr, mein Hirt, Brunn aller Freuden"

from the motet *Fürchte dich nicht* are analogous in structure to the movement "Es war ein wunderlicher Krieg" from the cantata *Christ lag in Todesbanden.*

Fugue—

The movement "Ihr aber seid nicht fleischlich, sondern geistlich" from the motet *Jesu, meine Freude* can be compared to the movement "Es ist ein trotzig und verzagt Ding" from the cantata of that name.

Double fugue—

The movement "Der aber die Herzen forschet" from the motet *Der Geist hilft unsrer Schwachheit auf* is similar to the movement "Wer an ihn glaubet, der wird nicht gerichtet" from the cantata *Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt.*

Double Chorus—

Movements from the motets *Komm, Jesu, komm* and *Fürchte dich nicht* are constructed like the *Sanctus* from the *B Minor Mass* and the cantata *Nun ist das Heil und die Kraft.*

In addition, all the patterns of individual movements from the motet *Der Geist hilft unsrer Schwachheit auf*, for which instrumental parts survive, also occur in the other motets, for which no instrumental parts are extant. Melody instruments and continuo take part in all movements of cantatas, Passions and Masses. In the choral movements mentioned above, winds and low strings double the corresponding choral voices most of the time. The high stringed instruments and the woodwinds often assume obbligato parts. In numerous chorale movements the brass instruments support the vocal parts of corresponding pitch *colla parte.* These works are unthinkable without instruments. As long as Bach makes full use of instruments within the cantatas, why should he dispense with them in the case of the same type of settings within the motets? Bach's stylistic intentions and concepts of sound are always the same. There is a grand unity about the stylistic world of his works. What is right for cantata movements must be right for motet movements. Who would dare set a double standard?

Present Day Performance

In making suggestions for the manner of performance of Bach's motets in our time, we first have to consider the question of the numerical strength of the chorus. Bach never could assemble his fifty St. Thomas choristers into one single choir. He always had to divide them into four individual groups, so as to supply the choirs for four services held simultaneously in four different churches. Thus he demands in his "Draft for a Well-Appointed Church Music" (1730): "Every musical choir should contain at least three sopranos, three altos, three tenors, and as many basses, so that even if one happens to fall ill . . . , a double-chorus motet may be sung." Sections written in four parts could be sung with three singers to a part. For double-chorus motets he counted on one singer to each part, with one singer per section in reserve. A double chorus of sixteen choristers with two singers for each of the eight parts would probably have been his ideal. It certainly is not our aim, even with respect to the number of singers, to produce a mere historical facsimile. Yet, in an age of uninhibited choral mass effects, it is a salutary thought that an increase in numbers does not necessarily mean an improvement of artistic quality. I have performed the motets with seventy singers, with forty, and with a select group of two or three to a part, and I do not hesitate to say that the small group was best suited to the demand for transparency of the eight-part polyphonic texture. It also best serves the need for rhythmic flexibility and clarity of sound. It is an amazing experience to hear how a small-sized ensemble can adapt to the particular character of the work. This is especially true when instruments are blended with the voices. With seventy, a hundred, or even more singers, we would have to call upon an entire orchestra. But how would it be possible to maintain clarity in Bach's subtle and intricate eight-part polyphony? If the chorus sings with continuo only, it may be larger, especially in the performance of compositions in which the "affections" of the text are strongly emphasized by a clear-cut melodic line.

Today the placement of the chorus in performances of Bach's double-chorus motets rarely differs from that used in works written for single chorus. The singers stand as one group and consequently the two choirs are intermingled. But this blurs the character of double-choir music: There are not two separate sources of sound and thus it is not possible to achieve the characteristic interplay of such separate sources. The singers are unable to sing to each other antiphonally, as is often re-

quired by the division of the text. Instructions given in the writings of Michael Praetorius, as well as in many other documents of the seventeenth century, clearly show that in the early *Kantorei* practice the individual choirs in multichoral works were kept strictly apart. Wherever possible, they were placed opposite each other. The *Thomaner*, in particular, were specialists in multi-choral music. The *Florilegium*, as mentioned above, still part of the daily fare of the St. Thomas singers in Bach's time, contained sixty motets, forty-eight of which were works for double chorus. Of Bach's own six motets, four are for double choir. Thinking in terms of double-chorus music was second nature to the choristers. They felt so secure in it that Bach could generally leave the direction of the motets to an assistant. Bach undoubtedly never departed from the antiphonal placing. Being used to the divided sound of Baroque music, he obviously would not mix the choirs. The contrast of separate bodies of sound, stressing the individual tone colors, represented the very essence of Baroque performance practice. The ideal of a blended, homogeneous sound is the result of the Classic-Romantic ideal of tone and orchestral practice, from which Bach's works even today have hardly been liberated.

In his monograph on Bach and the Leipzig performance practice of his time, Arnold Schering reconstructed the architecture of St. Thomas's Church at the time of Bach and tried in particular to clarify the layout of the choir galleries and the placement of instruments. He came to the conclusion that there were galleries for the town musicians to the right and left of the students' choir. On the gallery to the right Kuhnau had a board with nails installed to hang up the violins so that they would no longer have to be put on the floor and be in danger of damage (1709). Therefore it is to be assumed that the *Pfeiferstuhl* (wind gallery) was to the left and the *Geigerstuhl* (string gallery) to the right of the choir loft, and that the singers were placed correspondingly. Schering goes so far as to assume that the double-choir setting of the *St. Matthew Passion* is due to this "double-choir" architecture, just as the double-choir works of Willaert owe their existence to the choir galleries of St. Mark's in Venice and the multichoral works of Benevoli to the many choir lofts (*Sing-Kanzeln*) of Salzburg Cathedral. The physically separate placing of performance forces, with the sources of sound far apart, was deeply rooted in Bach's thinking and determined his daily work. It is therefore imperative to apply it to the performance of his motets as well. Multichoral composition might be considered to a certain extent an architectural phenomenon linked directly to the structure of the room and its particular resonance.

In order to do justice to the double-choir character of Bach's motets, the two choirs should be placed apart wherever possible. In principle, the placement of the choirs in Bach's double-chorus motets does not have

to differ from that used in multichoral works by Gallus, Hassler, Praetorius, and Schütz. But greater difficulty arises in practice since the texture of Bach's writing, especially at climactic passages, is infinitely more complex. The musicians, therefore, must approach the performance with a strong sense of ensemble. Acoustic conditions will have to be carefully checked. Usually it is not possible to place the choirs too far apart. Nevertheless, convincing results can be achieved on occasion by singing from two opposite choir galleries. A new decision will have to be made for each hall depending on architecture and acoustics. Not only will the sound fully unfold, but the significance of the text will become clear through proper antiphonal placement. For, even in the handling of the text, Bach goes far beyond the simple line-by-line division applied by earlier masters, and he enhances the total effect by combinations of heterogeneous elements and their rapid alternation. The motet *Singet dem Herrn* and certain movements of the *St. Matthew Passion* are good examples.

Returning to the question of instrumental participation in today's practice of performing Bach's motets, we must, above all, sound a warning against setting up a new dogma. This would only exchange one evil for another and bring about no basic improvement. We should rather attempt to regain the old *Kantorei* principle of complete freedom in instrumentation, to which Bach himself subscribed in the case of his motets, though perhaps only out of necessity. The concept of authenticity, rooted in a certain tradition of idealism, has caused our entire musical thinking to be so letter-faithful with respect to the printed score, that such freedom in the disposition of musical forces does not come to us easily. The instrumental accompaniment of the motet should be adapted and arranged according to the architecture and the acoustics of the room, according to the forces available, or to the structure and content of the work. Such an adaptation has nothing in common with the dubious "arrangements" of later periods. It was part of the original and basic duties of every cantor.

Certainly, in some cases the old *Kantoreien* did perform without instruments, purely *vocaliter*; the continuo was treated *ad libitum*. Today this should likewise constitute the first possibility. One should not hesitate to apply such purely vocal performance to the motets of Bach. But I would regret it if all choirs were to take refuge again in this *a cappella* approach of the Romantic era. At least they would have to free themselves of the notion that "pure" vocal music is nobler, more exalted, more suitable to religious expression, and more beautiful than music with instruments. A performance can be completely vocal without paying obeisance to such an *a cappella* ideal in tone production, rhythm, and dynamics! It is, however, my conviction that in Bach's time the addition

of a continuo was actually no longer a matter of choice or preference, as it was on occasion during the seventeenth century with Praetorius, Crüger, Schein, or Schütz, but rather the *sine qua non* of music. The motet *Jesu, meine Freude* is the one that would most likely lend itself to a purely vocal performance, since its essential character is determined by the chorale.

Adding a continuo part to the vocal parts is not only historically "correct," but, above all, more in keeping with the music and artistically more satisfying. Every singer in a Bach motet will feel instinctively that only the continuo will give him solid ground to stand on, and that only in this way will the entire musical structure receive a secure foundation. According to Schering's thesis for the churches of Leipzig, the harpsichord may be used for the continuo realization. In that case, the two half-choirs are to be kept at least as far apart as the placement on both sides of the instrument demands. But certainly, the organ, too, should be utilized for the continuo, just as Bach used the portative organ outside the church. A small choir organ is preferable to the large church organ with its wide-spread sound. It is best placed between the two half-choirs or, in the case of a work for single chorus, amidst the singers. A *Rückpositiv* might likewise be used as a continuo instrument. Where instruments and players are available, the use of lute, theorbo, or harp would not be inappropriate as a reinforcement of the continuo. According to Kuhnau's testimony, a melody instrument for the outline of the bass was always present at St. Thomas's; i.e., a cello, a viola da gamba, a bassoon, or a trombone (to be played with a well-focused sound). Kuhnau even mentions a violone—a small double-bass. In any case, the continuo should be strong enough to indicate the harmonic outline for singers and listeners, and to give the choir the feeling of being "sheltered" in its sound; or rather, the choir should sing so transparently and lightly that the continuo can truly appear as a supporting melody. Such a vocally oriented performance of the continuo line is particularly appropriate for those motets in which the thematic material strongly underlines the meaning and declamation of the text, for instance *Komm, Jesu, komm* and *Fürchte dich nicht*.

The third possibility, finally, is to have additional melody instruments double the choral parts. In the antiphonal works it should be instruments of contrasting tone color. Bach himself used strings and reed instruments in such cases. This should be our practice, too. In Bach's time, recorders were no longer used in full sets representing the different voice registers. Towards the end of the Baroque era they had become solo instruments. Today they would be submerged in the sound of the chorus. A complete consort of reed instruments, on the other hand, is not always easily available. Here we are painfully aware of the lack of an easily playable wind instrument like the shawm, which could

be learned by amateurs. The revival of *Zinken* has not been very successful up to now. But it is possible to use the "mechanical" wind choir of the organ as a substitute for the four individual players. For this purpose I had a small organ constructed, which can be dismantled and, packed in two trunks, can be taken on concert tours. Thus, in Bach's double-choir motets, the first chorus was supported by strings and the second by a wind group concentrated in the form of the small organ. This solution has proved entirely satisfactory. Undoubtedly, the organ tablatures of motet settings from the seventeenth century present a historic model of the procedure. Frequently the organ substituted for singers *and* players, for individual parts as well as for an entire choir. The small organ, functioning as a wind group, will have to be so placed that it is surrounded by the chorus whose voices it supports. The contrast of sound between the instruments representing the two choirs may be stressed by an appropriate distribution of singers. The softer, warmer voices should be assigned to the "string choir"; the tighter, cooler voices to the "wind choir." Such procedure is required particularly in those motets that contain thematic material of a highly extended nature, such as *Der Geist hilft unsrer Schwachheit auf* and *Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied.* The motet *Lobet den Herrn alle Heiden* will sound best in a performance in which strings are added to the continuo.

As we have seen, Bach himself added brass instruments, at least in open-air performances of his motets. This would present an important challenge to our brass ensembles, although the sound of their instruments may be found to be too heavy for the complex polyphonic texture. In the chorale movements of the motets, however, the addition of a brass group is possible and desirable even today. In numerous cantatas Bach adds brasses in the chorale movements; for instance, in *Christ lag in Todesbanden, Es ist nichts Gesundes an meinem Leibe,* or *Gottlob, nun geht das Jahr zu Ende.* When in such cases, with the solemn texture of the chorale, "God's own instruments" suddenly join in, the chorale gains both objectivity and brilliance. Here again, the principle should be transferred from cantatas to motets. The final chorale "Drauf schliess ich mich in deine Hände" in the motet *Komm, Jesu, komm* and the final chorale "Du heilige Brunst" in the motet *Der Geist hilft unsrer Schwachheit auf* should be performed in this way. The chorale verse "Wie sich ein Vat'r erbarmet," broken up into individual lines in the second movement of the motet *Singet dem Herrn,* might likewise be presented with brass reinforcement. The brasses underlining the chorale in the motet *Jesu, meine Freude* are particularly well suited to bring out the entire work's clear Baroque design, since here each chorale verse alternates with a verse from the text of *Romans* treated in motet style. Strings should accompany the voices throughout the work. In the chorale verses, brasses are added *en bloc.* In the more complex chorale settings,

"Gute Nacht, o Wesen" (ninth movement of *Jesu, mein Freude*) and "Herr, mein Hirt, Brunn aller Freuden" (last movement of *Fürchte dich nicht*), the cantus firmus quotations should be underlined by a trumpet.

Generally, the brass instruments to be considered are trumpets, trombones, and horns. An alto trombone is preferable to a second trumpet. To keep the sound better focused and softer, the use of mutes proves advisable. The wind players should not be placed with the singers of the corresponding voice part, but separately, and they should be grouped together to represent an individual sound or "stop." In his cantata movements Bach frequently uses a single brass instrument for the clear delineation of the cantus firmus: e.g., a trumpet in the cantata *Wo soll ich fliehen hin*; a trombone in the cantata *Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleid*; a horn in the cantata *Liebster Gott, wann werd' ich sterben.* Not every instrumentalist will easily be able to acquire the *cantabile* style of playing necessary to submerge the instrumental sound completely in the vocal line. Yet, such style of playing is imperative. It is, therefore, of great advantage if the instrumentalists can learn the work first as singers, thus familiarizing themselves with text and phrasing, and then try to transfer the vocal experience to their instrument. This goes for the continuo players as well. Only through a complete understanding of the vocal nature of the works can satisfactory results be obtained from instrumentalists. The string players should play without pressure, strong vibrato, or glissando, using a light *détaché*, without any particular articulation in sixteenth runs. Wind players should keep the breathing light and the embouchure gentle. It should be emphasized again that all motets can be performed with all the various possibilities of instrumentation.

The question of dynamics should likewise be determined by standards of Baroque performance practice. Arnold Schering proved that Bach created contrast and intensity in his cantata choruses by opposing solo and tutti groups even in places where no such indication appears in his scores. This solo-tutti effect was one of the basic means of dynamic differentiation in the Baroque era. It should be applied in the performance of the motets as well. Thus, in *Jesu, meine Freude*, the two trios (using high and low voices, respectively) "Denn das Gesetz des Geistes" and "So aber Christus in euch ist," which, together with two chorale verses, form a frame for the central five-part fugue, should be sung by soloists or, at the most, by a smaller choir. The aria "Gott, nimm dich ferner unser an" (sung with the chorale verse "Wie sich ein Vat'r erbarmet") in the motet *Singet dem Herrn* should be treated similarly. The arioso that stands out in individual voices on the text "Ich stärke dich" in the motet *Fürchte dich nicht* may be entrusted to soloists. In fact, by marking certain portions *forte* and *piano* at the beginning of the motet *Der Geist hilft*

unsrer Schwachheit auf, Bach intended echo-like repeats. They are best performed tutti and solo. There are similar passages in the other motets as well.

Nevertheless, the principle of contrasting a small chorus against a large chorus, though feasible in double-choir works of the seventeenth century, cannot be applied to the two half-choirs in Bach's motets. In the earlier works, the second chorus is often nothing but a literal repetition of the first one, using the same words and music, so that it seems appropriate to plan it as a small echo choir—the echo representing in this style a veritable principle of composition. Bach's double-choir motets, on the other hand, demand two half-choirs of equal strength. This is also evident from Bach's "Draft" to the Leipzig town council quoted previously. In demanding a total of twelve singers, he does not use the four extra singers, who are available when an eight-part motet is sung with one singer to a part, to augment the first choir, but holds them in reserve in case of indisposition. Both the equal musical treatment of the two half-choirs and the complex disposition of the text preclude a smaller number of singers for the second chorus.

A further device in obtaining "terraced" dynamics is what we might call a change in choral register. The word "register" is not used here in its customary meaning, but rather in the sense of organ "registration." Such a change of choral register might be applied, for instance, to the rondo-like sections "Denn wir wissen nicht, was wir beten sollen" in the first movement of *Der Geist hilft unsrer Schwachheit auf*: they should be sung in a covered, somewhat restrained tone color. The same holds true for the middle section ("Denn seine Gnade und Wahrheit waltet über uns in Ewigkeit") of the motet *Lobet den Herrn, alle Heiden*. The middle movement ("Komm, komm, ich will mich dir ergeben") of the motet *Komm, Jesu, komm* also requires a contrasting sound. The harpsichord-like plucking of the repeated "komm" would justify pizzicato playing by the strings. Wind players or organ of the second chorus will in this case have to aim at a light non-legato. Instruments doubling the voices should always share in the changes of tone color and support them. By such "changes of register" large sections of the works can be contrasted with one another in true Baroque spirit. This will impart both variety and accentuation to the words. It will also produce greater scope and force of interpretation and clarification of the musical architecture. What by now has become a matter of course in the interpretation of Bach's organ works, should not be disdained when it comes to the performance of Bach's motets.

In order to summarize the problems of "instrumentation" according to early *Kantorei* practice and Bach's own practice, I should like to list once more the various critical points, using the motet *Jesu, meine*

Freude as an example. Not without some justification, many prefer to perform this motet purely *vocaliter*. However, we shall come much closer to Bach's own intentions and to a convincing realization of the score if we follow these suggestions: Reduction of large choral forces; use of a sufficiently strong continuo instrument to be placed in the choir; addition of melody instruments for the bass; use of strings to double all voices in unison throughout all movements; use of a brass ensemble, possibly muted, in the chorale movements; the line-by-line cantus firmus quotations in the ninth movement are to be doubled by a trumpet; the trios should be sung by a small choir; the contrast indicated by the original dynamic markings in the second, fifth, and tenth measures is obtained by a "change of choral register"; if available, woodwinds may replace the strings in the trios in order to add further contrast.

I might add that an effective way to free Bach's motets from the pale *a cappella* atmosphere of the nineteenth century is in confrontation with the music of our time. On tours I began and ended programs with a motet by Bach, performing contemporary music (interspersed with appropriate organ works) between them. This enhances the possibility of approaching Bach's choral music from a fresh point of view, so far as sonority, rhythm, and dynamics are concerned, and of bringing about a positive attitude towards both present-day music and music of the Baroque era. It is surprising how happy the experience of the encounter of these two worlds can be.

The procedures described will cause a change in sound quality. The "big sound" will be reduced. The softness of melodic contours will disappear, and a certain "soulful" quality of tone will be gone, too. The sound is no longer static and full, as if arranged in vertical columns, but it seems to move horizontally. Through the combination of voices and instruments and the stressing of antiphonal texture, the sound becomes tighter, more intense and clearer, without losing its sensitivity. The combination of vocal and instrumental elements seems to produce a new, third-tone quality, uncommonly receptive to rhythmic impulses and rendering the music easier to listen to and to perform.

Finally, an important result will be a change in the spiritual quality of the motets. They will no longer seem like music presented and addressed to the listener; rather the listener will be drawn, as it were, into their very texture. He will experience with unequaled directness their transparency, their meaning. The music thus becomes the very essence of this spiritual meaning. It becomes, in the words of the second motet, "the spirit that for us intercedeth."

Alfred Dürr

Performance Practice of Bach's Cantatas

Original Performance Material

Extant details of information concerning Bach's own performances of his cantatas are few indeed. It is true, the original performance parts of quite a large number of the works have been preserved. But representing, as they do, a period in which essential matters pertaining to the realization of the written score in actual sound were still left to improvisation or verbal communication—rather than being recorded on the page—the original parts give us little more than the straight musical text with a minimum of performance directions. It is all the more important to draw from these original sources all the pertinent information they will yield.[1]

The process of copying individual parts from Bach's autograph scores was always rushed and subject to extreme pressure of time. This can be gathered from various specific date entries. The parts for Cantata 174, a work written in 1729 for the Monday morning service after Whitsuntide, were completed on Whitsuntide Sunday (June 6)—the preceding day.[2] The completion of the score for the *Ode of Mourning* is dated October 15, 1727—two days before the performance. In order to cope with the demands of such a schedule, a definite plan of work was adopted from which Bach rarely deviated:

(a) A copyist—possibly assisted by others—extracts a single set of parts from the score.

(b) From this set other copyists duplicate the usual number of additional parts; namely, one violin I, one violin II, two continuo parts—in the case of church cantatas, one of them transposed to suit the customary organ pitch.[3]

(c) Bach revises the parts and adds figures to the organ part (in secular cantatas, to the harpsichord part).

[1] In the following discussion we shall attempt to reconstruct a normal performance situation under Bach's direction. Deviations from such a norm have doubtless existed but seem to have been rare.

[2] A vivid account of how the performance material for this cantata was apparently produced is given by Arthur Mendel in the Critical Report for the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* edition, Series I, Vol. 14, pp. 109–115. Here Professor Mendel traces the process, evident from the identification of various handwritings, by which Bach and several copyists wrote the score and parts of this work—at times sharing in their haste one and the same manuscript portion.

[3] Until the beginning of the eighteenth century, German church compositions were written according to the old "choir pitch" which was one to one-and-a-half tones higher than the new "chamber pitch" introduced to Germany by French musicians. Owing to the lengths

The work phase listed under (c), being the last as well as the only one not absolutely required, was often slighted because of time limitations, or completely omitted.[4] As a consequence, a disturbing number of mistakes in copying remained uncorrected—in fact, the number of mistakes was so large that they could not possibly have been amended in performance (by recalling the problems encountered in rehearsal).

Equally telling is a consideration of details *not* contained in the original performance parts of Bach's cantatas. Completely, or almost completely absent are:

(a) *Any kind of cues.* None of Bach's singers could ever identify the harmonic context—to say nothing of the context of specific notes—into which his entrance was to fit.

(b) *Any kind of marks entered by the musicians in the course of rehearsals.* Corrections not appearing in the hand-writing of the individual copyist involved are, as a rule, Bach's own. This is more or less understandable since it would be necessary for Bach to compare the passage in question with the score for verification. But it is surprising that the same situation exists with regard to dynamic markings and articulation. What we know today as a typical rehearsal process in which the conductor announces various details to be entered in the parts ("measure 5 *piano*, please") evidently did not apply to Bach and his players. On the contrary, we can conclude from the presence of obvious mistakes (measures left out) that corrections were rarely or never made in rehearsal.

(c) *Directions calling for soloistic and choral performance.* We can, of course, generally assume the principle of soloistic performance for recitatives and arias, and of choral performance (i.e., with the inclusion of two *ripieno* singers sharing the written part at either side with the soloist—there was normally only *one* set of vocal parts!) for the choruses. Yet a systematic division of choral portions into passages intended for solo ensemble and those intended for full chorus, such as has been suggested by Wilhelm Ehmann for the *B Minor Mass*, can be documented only in special instances; it could *not* have been the rule.[5]

of pipes, organs could not be retuned to the modern pitch. This compelled Bach and his contemporaries to adopt a double notation in their church compositions, using either parts notated in a higher key for the woodwind instruments tuned according to chamber pitch (Bach's practice before 1723), or parts notated in a lower key for the organ (Bach's practice after 1723 when he had assumed the cantorship in Leipzig). The resulting complexity of original performance material often presents the modern performer with problems that are difficult to solve.

[4] Thus the absence of figures in some movements or entire works does not necessarily reflect the composer's explicit intentions.

[5] Wilhelm Ehmann's "Concertisten und Ripienisten in der H-Moll-Messe Johann Sebastian Bachs" was originally published in *Musik und Kirche*, Vol. 30 (1960), Nos. 2–6, cf. the preface for *American Choral Review*, Vol. XV, No. 2 (April, 1973). Cantatas 21, 24, 71, 76, 110, and 195 bear indications for *solo* and *tutti* performance of choral portions in the original sources.

It is imaginable that a change between *solo* and *tutti* was suggested by conducting motions even within choruses, but such changes would have included no provisions for changes in note values or in placing of text syllables.

Original Rehearsals

What has been said leads inevitably to the conclusion that there were no thorough rehearsals held in the preparation of Bach's own cantata performances. In view of the number of extant mistakes, we must, in fact, raise the question of whether there were any rehearsals at all. In any event, extreme pressure of time would again have been the rule. It is possible that, in place of Bach himself, a student in charge of the chorus might have gone over the parts with the boys—whenever there was any time left. Yet such rehearsal procedure would have served merely to forestall patent disruption of the performance.

Original Performance Forces

As stated earlier, the size of both chorus and orchestra was very small. Only in isolated cases was a duplicate set of vocal parts written out; and even in these cases it is not clear whether such *ripieno* parts—they contain the choral movements only—were intended to serve for a correspondingly larger chorus or for a more careful division of *solo* and *tutti* assignments within a performing group of minimal size. As a rule, the chorus numbered only twelve singers; even in exceptional cases there were never more than twenty-four. Compared with modern choral and orchestral sound, Bach's own performances must have had a pronounced chamber music character. Even the tutti chorus must have sounded like a chamber ensemble, while the timbre of the full orchestra, due to the small number of violins (two to three each), must have been much more dominated by the wind instruments than it is today.

Unmistakably defined, however, and firmly rooted as performance foundation by which all uncertainties were mended, was the *continuo* group.[6] It consisted of organ—in the case of secular cantatas, harpsichord—violone (an instrument of lesser tone volume than our double bass and presumably duplicating the violoncello tuning one octave lower), two violoncellos, and one or two bassoons. We cannot be certain that Bach always had this many continuo players at his disposal. Nor can we say with assurance that all of them were intended to play in all movements of a given work. On the other hand, we must note that rests for individual continuo instruments are rarely marked in the original performance material. If Bach had wished, for instance, to use the violone only in choral movements but have it rest in arias and recitatives—often the practice today—he would under the prevailing rush undoubtedly not have had all movements copied into all continuo parts. This holds true also for the use of the bassoon. Although there is no separately written bassoon part for a large number of cantatas, we may assume that the bassoonist (whenever available) read from the violoncello part. But where a special bassoon part has been preserved (for example, in Part I of the *Christmas Oratorio*), it almost invariably contains all movements.

The organ, too, was involved in all movements of church cantatas. In this respect Bach seems to have made merely a temporary exception

[6] We shall give special attention in this discussion to continuo problems because, due to the use of obsolete editions, the choice of instruments for the continuo in modern performances is still largely based on principles proven to be erroneous.

around 1732, as we can gather from the performance material for several cantatas: The organ part was marked *Tacet* in various movements of these works (never the first or last) without any indication that another instrument such as harpsichord or lute, was to take its place.[7] Bach explicitly abandoned this practice later; its validity can have been only provisional, possibly dictated by external circumstances.[8]

Bach's use of the harpsichord in his church cantatas remains very uncertain. The few instances in which a harpsichord part is preserved do not offer a real argument. For the most part, we are dealing here with one of the two untransposed continuo parts, in which figures were entered for a harpsichord accompaniment at a later date. This was apparently done because the organ was for some reason not usable when the work in question was revived. Thus, if the harpsichord was employed with any regularity at all for Bach's church cantata performances, it could have served only for Bach's own use—as the instrument from which Bach, conducting from the score, directed the performance. We do not know whether this was so; in fact, we have reason to doubt it. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach wrote about his father:

> In his youth, and until the approach of old age, he played the violin clearly and penetratingly, and thus kept the orchestra in better order than he could have done with the harpsichord.[9]

Carl Philipp Emanuel was only nine years old at the end of the Cöthen period and thus received the decisive impressions of his father's work during the Leipzig years. Would he have made this statement if he had seen his father conduct the church music from the harpischord Sunday after Sunday?

[7] From the material available at present, we can quote the following cases in which *Tacet* markings appear:

Cantata 5—movements 2, 3, 4, 6
Cantata 9—movements 2, 3, 4, 6
Cantata 94—movements 2, 4, 7
Cantata 97—movements 3, 4, 7
Cantata 100—movements 2, 3, 5
Cantata 129—movements 2, 3, 4
Cantata 139—movements 2, 3, 4
Cantata 177—movements 2, 3, 4

[8] We can surmise this from the fact that Bach subsequently provided an organ part for all movements of Canata 129 and from the absence of any *Tacet* entries in cantatas written thereafter.

[9] Quoted from the translation in Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, *The Bach Reader*, New York, 1945 (revised paperback edition, 1966), p. 277. The original text is published in Max Schneider, *Bach-Urkunden*, publications of the *Neue Bach-Gesellschaft*, Vol. VII, No. 3.

Original Performance Style

It is evident from what has been said that Bach's own performances must have been marked by a certain improvisational character. Under a leader of such qualities this might have meant a distinct advantage, and we may assume that capable musicians rose to such an inspired level of performance through Bach's direction that the problems of scant preparation no longer mattered. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the fact that a major part of the artistic effort was bound to be limited to rendering the notes correctly. This situation is clearly reflected in the description that Johann Matthias Gesner, director of the *Thomasschule*, gave of Bach in action:

> . . . watching over everything and bringing back to the rhythm and the beat, out of thirty or even forty musicians, one with a nod, another by tapping with his foot, a third with a warning finger; giving the right note to one from the top of his voice, to another from the bottom, and to a third from the middle of it—all alone, in the midst of the greatest din made by all the participants, and, although he is executing the most difficult part himself, noticing at once whenever and wherever a mistake occurs, holding everyone together, taking precautions everywhere, and repairing any unsteadiness, full of rhythm in every part of his body—this one man taking in all these harmonies with his keen ear and emitting with his voice alone the tone of all the voices.[10]

In this manner we will have to imagine Bach's influence as a conductor, not only in rehearsal but also in actual performance.

[10] Contained in a commentary for Gesner's edition of Mercus Fabius Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria* (1738). The English translation is again quoted from Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, *The Bach Reader* (p. 231).

Conclusions for Modern Performance

Modern performance practice should be guided by the intentions of the composer—as far as these can be ascertained—not by the imperfections with which he had to reckon. Thus we cannot possibly dismiss the widened possibilities of modern performance by simply referring to Bach's improvisatory situation. Nevertheless, today's conductor will have to question again and again whether his concepts are not in conflict with Bach's own views and thus of disservice to Bach's work. This applies above all to the scale of the performing forces, but also to a scale of dynamics incompatible with Bach's polyphonic texture. A division of choral movements into sections for solo ensemble and full chorus, too, should only be decided upon from case to case—especially when more or less chordally conceived passages are involved; it should not become a rigidly applied manner of performance.

Greatest care should be given to the execution of the continuo part. Ever since Max Seiffert, in obvious disregard of the source evidence, adopted the exceptional situation of Bach's performances in 1732 (described above) as a rule to be followed, modern interpreters have used the harpsichord for arias, recitatives, and instrumental interludes, restricting the use of the organ to choral portions only. Yet this principle —in itself exaggerated considering the special model from which it was derived—was proven invalid by Arnold Schering as long ago as 1936.[11]

Thus it cannot be strongly enough emphasized: Replacing organ with harpsichord in solo numbers and in purely instrumental sections represents a compromise that runs counter to Bach's intentions.

The double bass (taking the place of Bach's violone) should normally be used in the continuo group throughout. It will be important, however, to insist on a sufficiently gentle quality of sound in solo sections. Whenever the natural volume of the modern instrument renders this too difficult, one may have to choose the lesser evil and give up the 16-foot register. But this must be considered merely an emergency measure not authenticated by Bach's own practice.

We may take it for granted that present day performers are sufficiently aware of the problems involved in using modern instruments instead of those specified by Bach; for instance, metal transverse flutes

[11] Seiffert's essay, "Praktische Bearbeitungen Bachscher Kompositonen," appeared in *Bach-Jahrbuch* 1904, pp. 51–76; Schering's refutation is contained in his monograph *Johann Sebastian Bachs Leipziger Kirchenmusik*, Leipzig, 1936.

instead of recorders. Wherever such exchange is unavoidable, one ought to do everything possible to arrive at a solution that can be justified in view of the work and our understanding of its creator's wishes.

Concertists and Ripienists: An Old Performance Problem Revisited

by GERHARD HERZ

For a long time scholars have clamored for the application of the Baroque concerto principle to Bach's choral music — for distributing the performance of Bach's choral movements between soloists and chorus. They have read about it in treatises from Praetorius to Bach's time. Above all, they have found it stated explicitly in Bach's own "Short but most necessary Draft for a well appointed Church Music," written in 1730. On the first of its ten pages Bach states: "In order that the choruses of church pieces may be performed as is fit and proper, the vocalists must be . . . divided into two sorts, namely concertists and ripienists."

The application of the concerto principle to Bach's choral music was advocated as early as in the writings of Wilhelm Rust, editor for most of the cantata volumes in the old *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition.[1] The issue was taken up again in the early twentieth century by Arnold Schering,[2] and in our time especially by Werner Neumann[3] and Wilhelm Ehmann.[4] Their conviction is based on the evidence supplied by Bach himself in no less than ten cantatas: BWV 71, 22, 23, 75, 76, 21, 24, 110, 195, and 191.

Cantata 71, *Gott ist mein König*, was written for the inauguration of a new Mühlhausen Town Council in 1708. Its festive purpose, resulting in publication of the work (which, in turn, made the composition available to others) may have caused Bach to write out separate parts for the solo and ripieno voices. Consequently, a number of different instances of solo-tutti application can be observed in this early cantata. In the opening movement

[1]See *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition, Vol. 5 (1855) for BWV 21; Vol. 13 (1864) for BWV 195; Vol. 18 (1870) for BWV 76; and Vol. 23 (1873) for BWV 110.

[2]"Die Besetzung Bachscher Chöre" in *Bach-Jahrbuch*, Vol. XVII (1920), p. 77 ff., especially pp. 79 and 87.

[3]*Handbuch der Kantaten Johann Sebastian Bachs*, Leipzig, 1947.

[4]"Concertisten und Ripienisten in der H-Moll-Messe Johann Sebastian Bachs," in *Musik und Kirche*, Vol. 30 (1960), fascicles 2–6.

it is the alternation between full chorus and solo ensemble. Bach designated the third movement — a vocal fugue with continuo accompaniment only — "Coro senza ripieni": because there are no instruments to reinforce and support the voices, Bach had this chorus sung by the solo voices. But in the penultimate movement, in which the text reference to "turtle doves" inspired Bach to write some almost Brahmsian harmonies, the strings go *colla parte* with the voices, and Bach accordingly assigned this movement to the "Coro pleno." The "permutation fugue"[5] that forms the center of the final movement is revealing in yet another way. Above the five bottom staves of the autograph score (Table I), the wavy line placed immediately under "Tutti Vivace," then interrupted for two measures, then taken up again in measures 4–6, stands for *tutti*. Conclusive proof that this is indeed its meaning will require the following digression:

In the predominantly syllabic treatment of the three-and-a-half measures shown at the beginning of Table I, Bach saves himself time by writing the text "Glück Heyl und grosser Sieg" into the vocal bass part only. In the remaining two-and-a-half measures of this *Tutti Vivace* section Bach found it necessary to enter the text into each one of the four vocal parts. For the frequent repeats of "Glück Heyl" (in measure 2 and, above all, measure 6) Bach availed himself of the (time-and-space-saving) repeat symbol ·/.. Yet that the wavy line entered under these passages is to be understood as an indication for vocal-tutti execution needs further comment and corroborating evidence. And does the absence of the wavy line in measures 2 and 3 mean solo performance of the six-note motif "Glück Heyl und grosser Sieg" during which the instruments are silent? In the context of the preceding *Tutti Vivace,* solo execution might be questioned here.

The unusual wealth of surviving sources for Cantata 71 indeed furnishes concrete proof that the wavy line does mean *tutti,* and its absence, *solo* execution. The extant autograph solo and ripieno parts, in fact, provided Rust in 1870 with the evidence upon which he added "Senza Ripieni" at this particular measure, though he failed to mention the corroborating evidence provided by the brief interruption of the wavy line.[6] The autograph ripieno parts, of which the "Soprano in Ripieno" is reproduced in Table II, show here (in the last two measures of staff 10) one

[5]The so-called permutation fugue follows the scheme of the round. Not only the fugal subject (1) but also its countersubjects (2, 3, 4, etc.) are consistently retained and exchanged. No episodes interrupt this rotating process which unfolds in kaleidoscopic manner:

1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4, etc.
1 2 3 4 1 2 3, etc.
1 2 3 4 1 2, etc.

[6]See *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition, Vol. 18 (1870), p. 42.

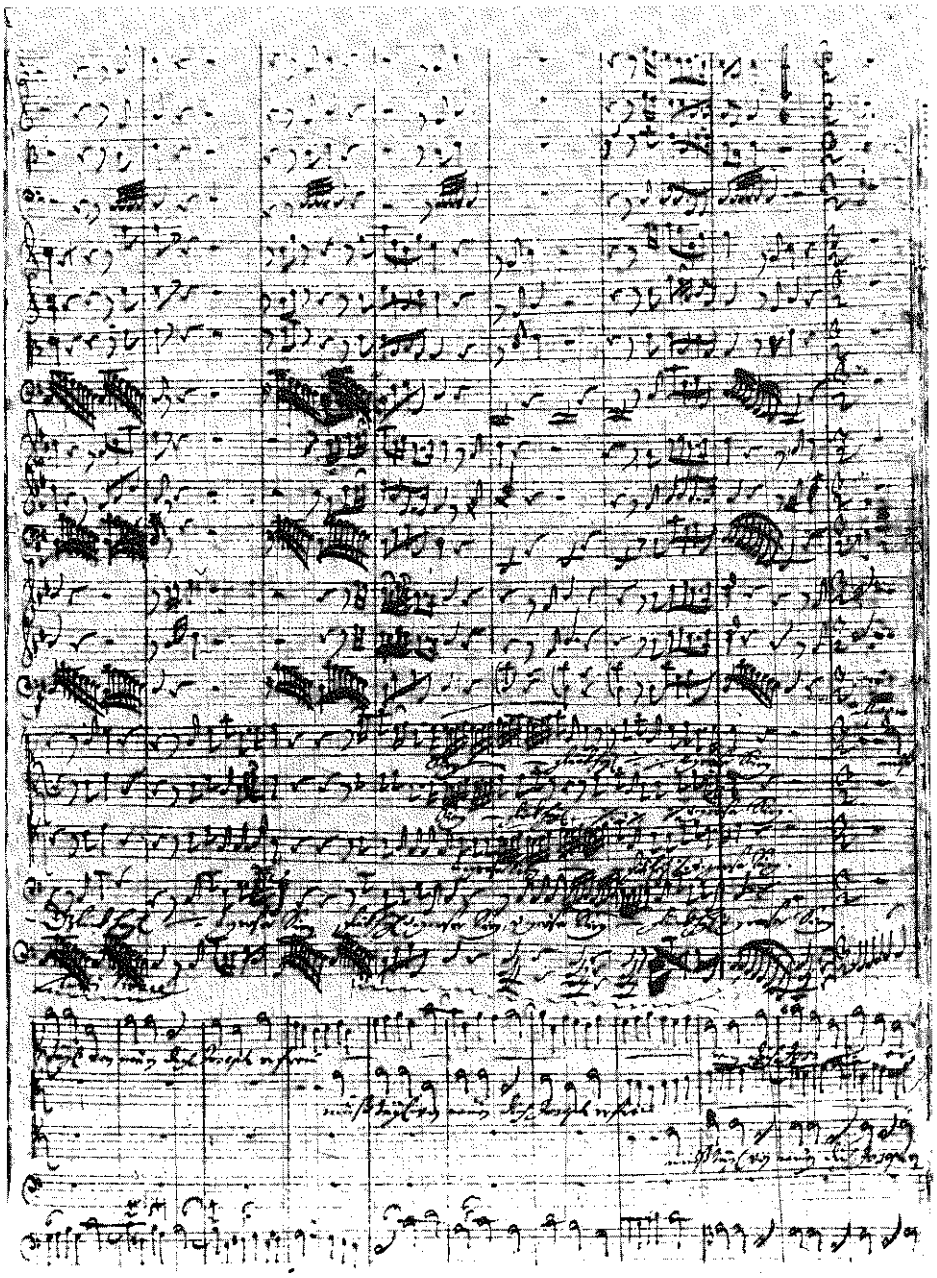

Table I
Page 12 of the autograph score of Cantata 71, *Gott ist mein König*. This page shows the "Tutti Vivace" and the beginning of the permutation fugue of the last movement.

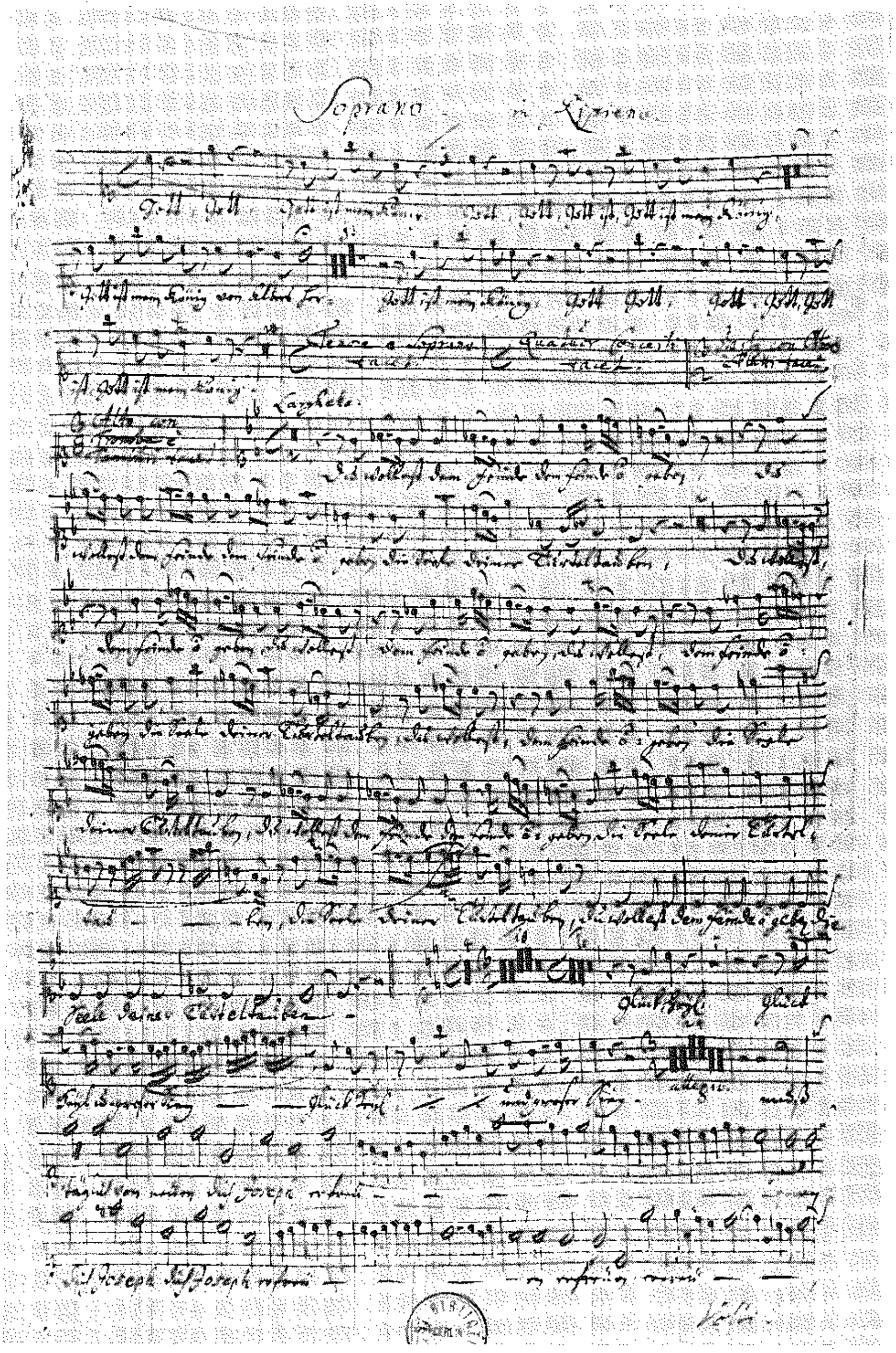

Table II
The first page of Bach's autograph "Soprano in Ripieno" part for Cantata 71.

whole measure and seven eighth measures rest; thus the corresponding measures (2 and 3 of the autograph score reproduced in Table I — the measures without the wavy line — are not to be sung by the ripieno voices. Conversely, the autograph solo soprano part, of which page 3 is reproduced here as Table III, shows (in measure 2 of the second staff) the treble part of the six-note motif under discussion. Throughout the autograph score, the presence, absence, and reappearance of the wavy lines are consistent with the respective variant readings of the surviving autograph parts: the latter offer complete confirmation for the meaning of *tutti* in the case of the measures marked by the wavy line and of *solo* wherever the wavy line ceases.

The disappearance of the wavy line on the concluding chord of this "vivace" section (Table I, first beat of measure 7) indicates that the following "3/2 allegro" section is to be sung by the solo voices. Measure 8 (end of staves 15 and 19) and the five bottom staves of the reproduced autograph score page show the entrances of the soprano, alto, and tenor of the opening exposition of a fugue. Table III shows the solo soprano's entrance (in the third staff) while the "Soprano in Ripieno" part at this point shows six vertical strokes, each of which represents a four-measure rest or a total of twenty-four measures which number Bach adds gratuitously above the middle strokes (see Table II, staff 11:"3/2 allegro"). Only then (Table II, last note of staff 11 and staff 12, measures 1–4) do the choral sopranos join the solo soprano (see Table III, staff 5) to commence the tutti exposition of the fugue in which the instruments double the voices. The wavy line reappears below the continuo part on the next two pages of Bach's score (these pages are not reproduced here), and the entrance of each voice is also preceded by "Cap," Bach's abbreviation for *Cappella,* that is, full chorus.

The next instance in which a wavy line appears in an autograph score of Bach's vocal music is in Cantata 22, *Jesus nahm zu sich die Zwölfe,* Bach's test piece for the position of Thomas Cantor in Leipzig. The wavy line is clearly visible below measure 56 of its opening movement, but only there. However, this measure constitutes the crucial point at which the second section of the movement — again a permutation fugue — follows upon a four-part solo exposition, while the instruments of the corresponding ranges reinforce the new entrances of the fugal subject. What is truly noteworthy is that Bach employs the solo-tutti principle in Leipzig as early as in his test piece, which was performed on the Sunday of Estomihi, February 7, 1723.

Bach had originally written another work, Cantata 23, *Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn,* to serve as the Leipzig test piece; perhaps it was performed there after Cantata 22 and the sermon on Estomihi Sunday of

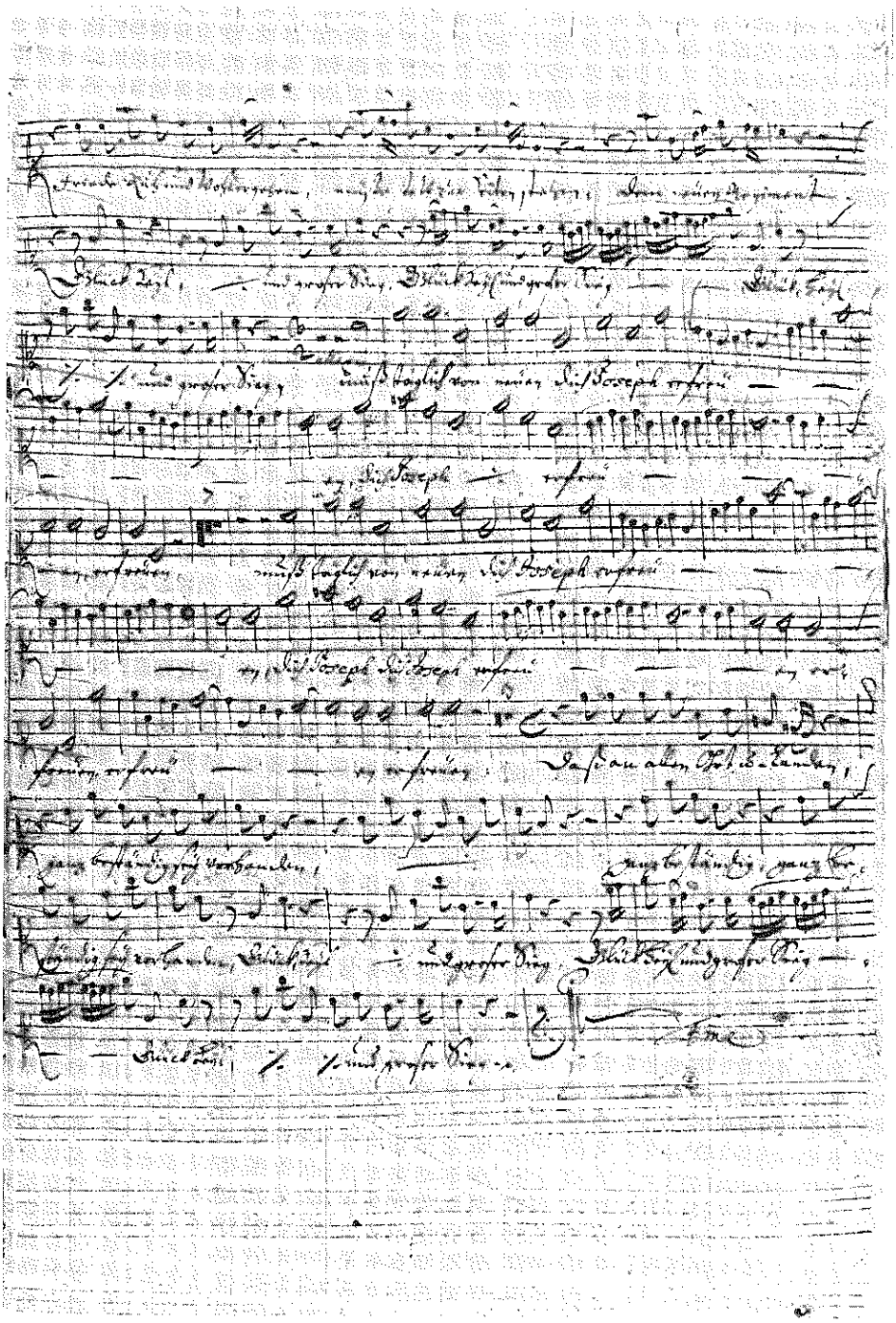

Table III
Page 3, the last page of Bach's autograph "Soprano" part for Cantata 71.

1723. In this work, whose last movement was added at a later date, Bach applies the solo-tutti contrast again. In its third movement, "Aller Augen warten, Herr, du allmächt'ger Gott, auf dich!", the four part chorus alternates with a duet of solo voices that sing the episodic sections in the broadly designed rondo structure of the movement. In the autograph score Bach enters "Solo" below the Bass and above the Tenor at the first imitative entrance of these voices and does the same again at their next entrance, adding here also the revealing word "dolce" (Table IV). Additional proof of this tutti-solo pattern is provided by Bach's unusually consistent entries of "forte" and "piano" in the autograph instrumental parts of two oboes, two violins, and viola.

It is a gratifying reassurance to have these added *forte* and *piano* notations, but Bach is just as likely to commit sins of omission. In the movement under discussion the autograph Tenor and Bass parts fail to give any information regarding the solo and tutti execution that is indicated in the autograph score and underlined by the dynamics in the instrumental parts. With the exception of the figured bass part, the original performing parts of this work have come down to us; they form an unusually large set. This fortunate fact makes it improbable that Tenor and Bass ripieno parts once existed and were later lost. It is more likely that Bach told the ripienists, who evidently sang with the soloist from the extant Tenor and Bass parts, that they were to sing only the sections set to the opening two lines of the text. In view of the strictly sectional character of the movement, such verbal explanation, as well as obvious motions of eye and hand in conducting, would easily have served to implement the tutti-solo execution that the score requires.

Seventeen weeks later, upon his arrival in Leipzig as newly chosen Thomas Cantor, Bach reacquainted his singers and his new congregation with the solo-tutti concept in Cantata 75, *Die Elenden sollen essen.* The parts of this cantata have not survived, and the autograph score shows, in contrast to the rich information supplied by the sources of Cantata 71, an absolute minimum of information. But this one autograph notation of "Tutti" again marks the beginning of the second fugal exposition in which the instruments join the entrances of the voices.

This was the only indication that choral execution is required from here on in this final section of the opening movement of Cantata 75. Like BVW 75, Bach's second regular Leipzig cantata, BWV 76, *Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes,* leads in its opening movement to a climactic permutation fugue. Its surviving vocal solo and ripieno parts again furnish proof that the typical four-part solo exposition is followed by a tutti exposition in which the respective instruments enter *colla parte.* And on the Sunday thereafter Bach repeated his Weimar cantata, BWV 21, *Ich hatte*

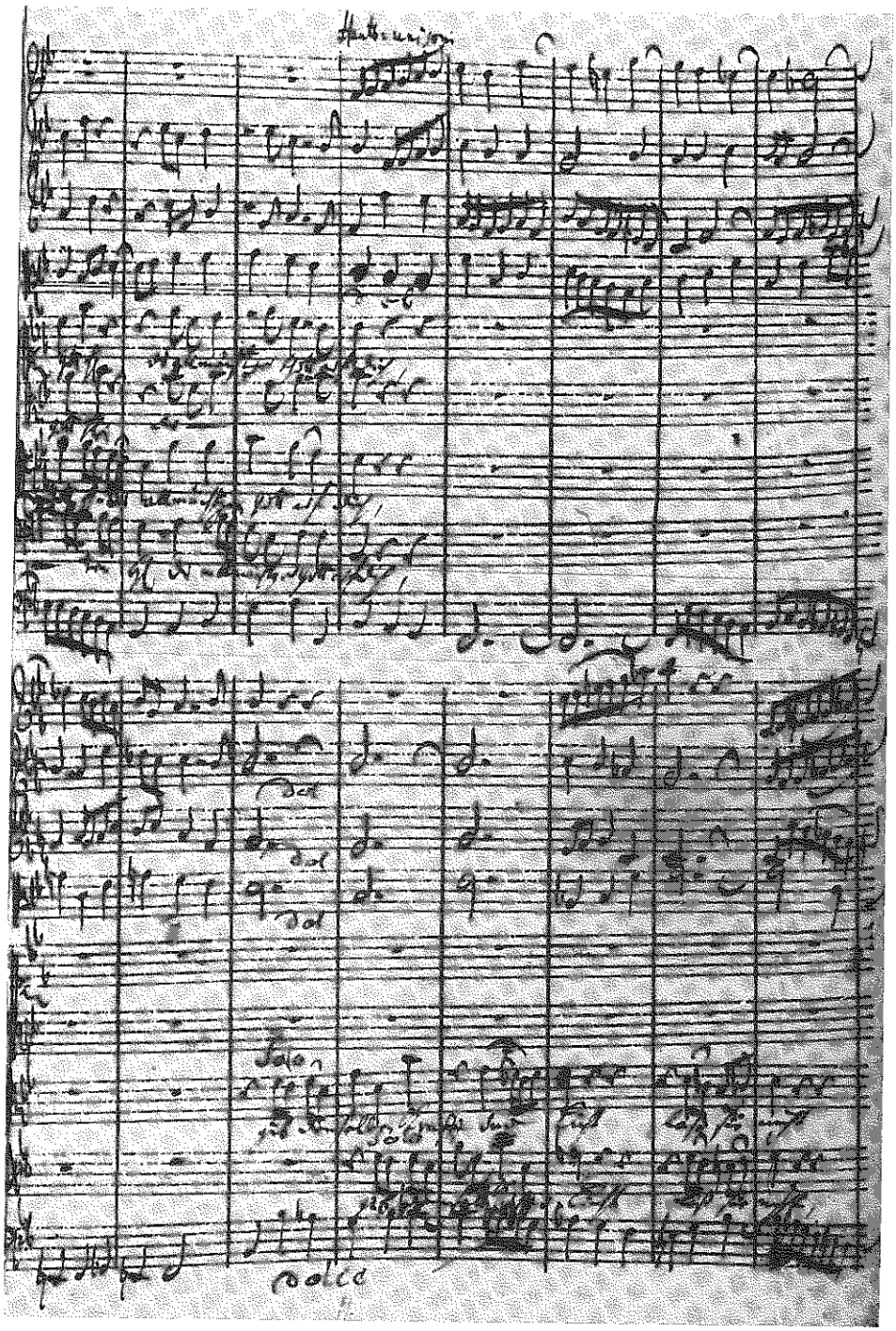

Table IV
Excerpt from the third movement of Cantata 23, *Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn*.

viel Bekümmernis, supplying solo and ripieno parts for three of its four choral movements. The final page of the autograph Weimar Basso part, which contains this long cantata's last movement, shows — apparently in a lighter ink and added later — the word "Tutti" next to "Grave" marking of the movement (see Table V). On the second staff, where the Bass introduces a fugal subject, Bach adds "solo." After the opening exposition of this permutation fugue has run its four-part course, Bach enters "tutti" (on the fifth staff) for the beginning of the second, and now choral, exposition. On the Sunday after the performance of Cantata 21, finally, Bach's Leipzig audience heard Cantata BWV 24, *Ein ungefärbt Gemüthe,* which contains yet another fugue of the familiar solo-tutti structure. With this embarrassment of riches documented for his first month in Leipzig Bach showed nothing more nor less than that in this respect he followed a performance tradition his predecessors, Thomas Cantors Sebastian Knüpfer, Johann Schelle, and Johann Kuhnau, had observed. It is possible that the solo-tutti concept was so firmly established and so commonly understood in Leipzig that Bach found it necessary to spell it out only in his test pieces and his first four cantatas performed there.

While Robert Marshall is of the same opinion, namely, that Bach was intent on upholding what was a time-honored tradition of the *Kantorei* practice in that he continued to employ both concertists and ripienists, Joshua Rifkin interprets the disappearance of the ripieno parts after Bach's first month in Leipzig as an indication that the ripienists themselves might have disappeared. Marshall's opinion that pressure of time may have caused Bach no longer to have separate ripieno parts written out, though not in itself convincing, might gain some credibility by the following observation: Since Bach requested to be graciously released as *Kapellmeister* in Cöthen before April 13, 1723, and since he received his first Leipzig salary a month later, that is, before arriving in Leipzig on May 22, he had — for once — an unusual amount of time at his disposal for the composition, writing out of parts, and rehearsal of his first Leipzig cantatas.

Between 1728 and 1731 Bach added three autograph ripieno parts (S, A, and T) to his Christmas cantata of 1725, BWV 110, *Unser Mund sei voll Lachens,* providing an unusual kind of tutti-solo contrast for its opening movement. One of Bach's last cantatas, BWV 195, *Dem Gerechten muss das Licht immer wieder aufgehen,* was in its surviving form probably composed and performed between 1741 and 1742 and repeated, in revised form, in the last years of his life. Aside from other instances of the use of the solo-tutti principle, the fugue at the end of the opening movement shows by its separate four vocal solo and four ripieno parts the familiar pattern: solo execution of the first fugal exposition followed by tutti exposition in which the instruments of the appropriate range join the combined solo and ripieno voices. The delicate staccato accompaniment of the strings, which lends

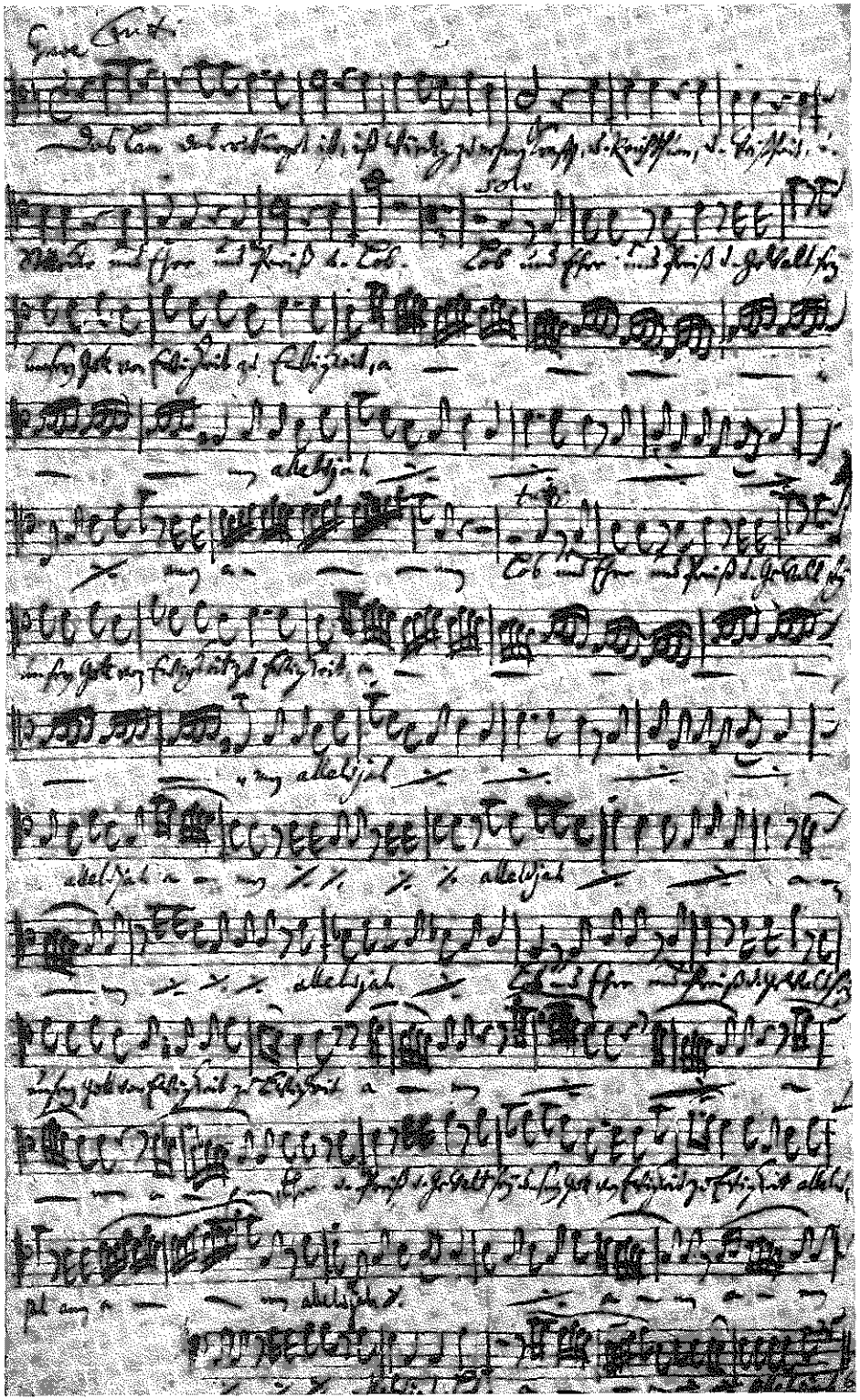

Table V
The last page, showing the eleventh (concluding) movement of Bach's autograph "Basso" part of Cantata 21, *Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis.*

additional color to the harmonic function of the continuo part, does not stand in the way of Bach's clear direction to have this opening fugal exposition sung by the solo voices.

The surviving evidence of Bach's application of the solo-tutti principle thus reaches from 1708 (BWV 71) to after 1741 (BWV 195). The highly diversified solo and tutti additions to the autograph score in the final movement ("Cum sancto spiritu") of the Missa BWV 234, raise the number of Bach's solo-tutti compositions mentioned so far to ten. The separate ripieno parts of Cantata 29 and those of the *St. John Passion*, to name another two, serve different purposes.

Richard Benedum interprets the consistent absence of ripieno parts, of "solo" and "tutti" or "piano" and "forte" indications in twenty cantatas for which Werner Neumann suggests adapting the solo-tutti contrast[7] — principally in their fugal expositions — as proof that the *ripieno* chorus should sing throughout the choral movements. Joshua Rifkin takes the opposite view, namely, that the absence of the above-noted indications demands solo execution of these choral movements. It all boils down to the chief discrepancy between Rifkin's well-documented revolutionary and Marshall's traditional views: Did only one or did three singers read from the surviving vocal parts? While Hogarth's famous satirical engraving of 1733,[8] the year of Bach's *Missa* (Part I of the B Minor Mass), shows about three singers per part, England may be considered a bit far away to prove that the same habit prevailed also in Saxony. Yet Rifkin's view, based on the surviving scores and parts, conflicts with Bach's quoted demand of 1730 that "the vocalists must be divided into concertists and ripienists," asking for a *minimum* of four concertists and again for a *minimum* of eight ripienists.

Most of today's Bach choruses tend to be too large in proportion to the orchestral forces, producing a thick rather than clean, lean, and transparent sound. Pleading for the attempt to perform Bach's cantatas employing a chorus of twelve voices, Alfred Dürr concluded a recent article with the words "It is worth it." (Es lohnt sich.).[9] In contrast, Helmuth Rilling stated: "If we want to honor the circumstances of the original performance, we must [— Rilling does not say "it is permissible" or "we may" but says "we must" —] make music with the forces available for the people of our time."[10] Why do so many — with Rilling as their most persuasive

[7]*Op. cit.* They are: BWV 6/1, 22/1, 23/3, 25/1, 34/1, 40/1, 46/1, 47/1, 63/1, 65/1, 67/1, 69a/1, 93/1, 105/1, 106/last movement, 119/7, 149/1, 181/5, 182/2, and 184/6.

[8]It shows Willem de Fesch conducting a performance (or rehearsal) of his oratorio *Judith*.

[9]In *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, March 16/17, 1985, p. 68.

[10]See the West German journal *Die Welt*, December 8, 1984.

spokesman — question the power of Bach's own instrumental and vocal forces to move the listener of today? I would like to opt for greater tolerance between the mainstream practitioners and the authenticity fanatics.

The two extant tenor parts of Cantata 63, to which Benedum has referred, supply an interesting argument in favor of choral interpretation, but in my opinion not sufficient proof. For instance, do the two surviving transverse flute parts of Cantata 9, the ripieno part of which shows the complete opening choral movement and the concluding chorale, allow the interpretation that in other cantatas two flutes in unison should also play in the choral movements?

The six-year-old Rifkin-Marshall controversy remains unresolved, but I believe traditional Bach scholarship has so far not produced sufficient new evidence — pictorial or otherwise — to derail Rifkin's concept of strictly soloistic performance. Nevertheless, the existing evidence in the nine cantatas (BWV 71, 22, 23, 75, 76, 21, 24, 110, and 195) and in the A Major Mass BMV 234 might be taken as a model for solo-tutti use in stylistically comparable works, including the B Minor Mass, which started the whole controversy.[11] As an ardent music lover, I confess that neither Rifkin's soloistic B Minor Mass recording nor Rilling's recording (the whole contingent of vocal basses singing the "Et iterum venturus est" with full choral abandon) gives me the satisfaction of Robert Shaw's solo-tutti recording of about 1960 which RCA Victor unfortunately has discontinued and which is therefore omitted from Nicholas Kenyon's long list of recordings of the B Minor Mass.[12] Any conscientious conductor who performs, for example, the two solo-tutti fugues that end Part I and Part II of Cantata 21 or the fugue that ends the opening movement of Cantata 195, will have to make a decision with regard to the performance of similar movements from Bach's vocal *oeuvre,* as Werner Neumann has suggested. With regard to the B Minor Mass he faces such a decision, for example, in the "Pleni sunt coeli" fugue, the 1724 score of which shows the autograph entry "Tutti" below the continuo part in measure 41, or — a case parallel to BWV 195/1 — in the "Et in terra pax" fugue, to say nothing of the passage "Et iterum venturus est."

In the case of the last chorus from Part I of the B Minor Mass, "Cum sancto spiritu," application of the solo-tutti principle is practically obligatory because it is explicitly called for in the parody of this chorus (the third movement of Cantata 191). Written shortly after 1740, Cantata 191 consists

[11]I would suggest following Werner Neumann's recommendations (see footnote 3 above) and being far more conservative than Wilhelm Ehmann (*op. cit.,* see footnote 4 above) in the application of the solo-tutti principle to the B Minor Mass.

[12]*Opus* magazine, December, 1985.

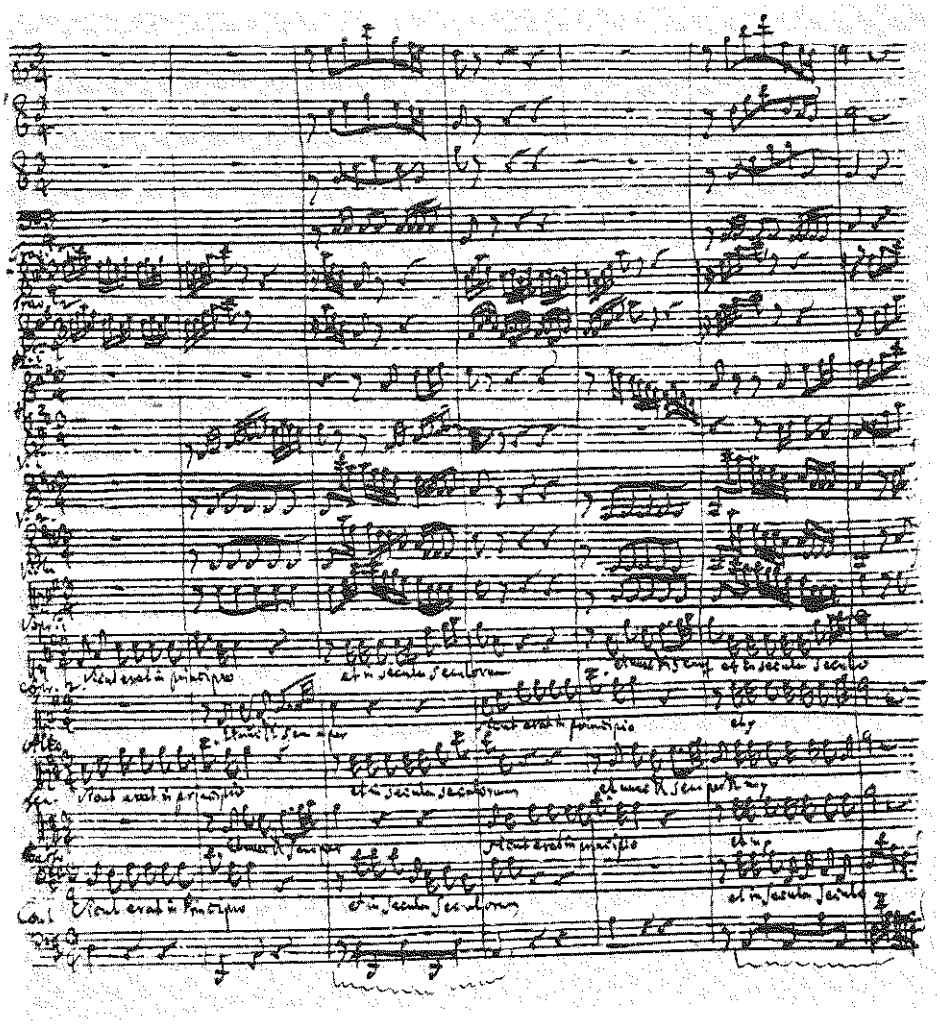

Table VI
Page 17 (first page of the third movement) from the autograph score of Cantata 191, *Gloria in excelsis Deo.*

of three movements taken from the Gloria of the *Missa* of 1733: "Gloria in excelsis Deo," "Domine Deus" (with the new text "Gloria Patri et Filio"), and "Cum sancto spiritu," set to the text "Sicut erat in principio." The latter text prompted Bach to add an additional measure at the beginning. He did so again in measures 4, 11, and 14, and added two further measures to the original measures 64–67, so that the total number of measures was increased to 128.

As reproductions in Tables VI and VII (pages 17 and 22 in the autograph score) show, Bach employs the wavy line quite profusely in this

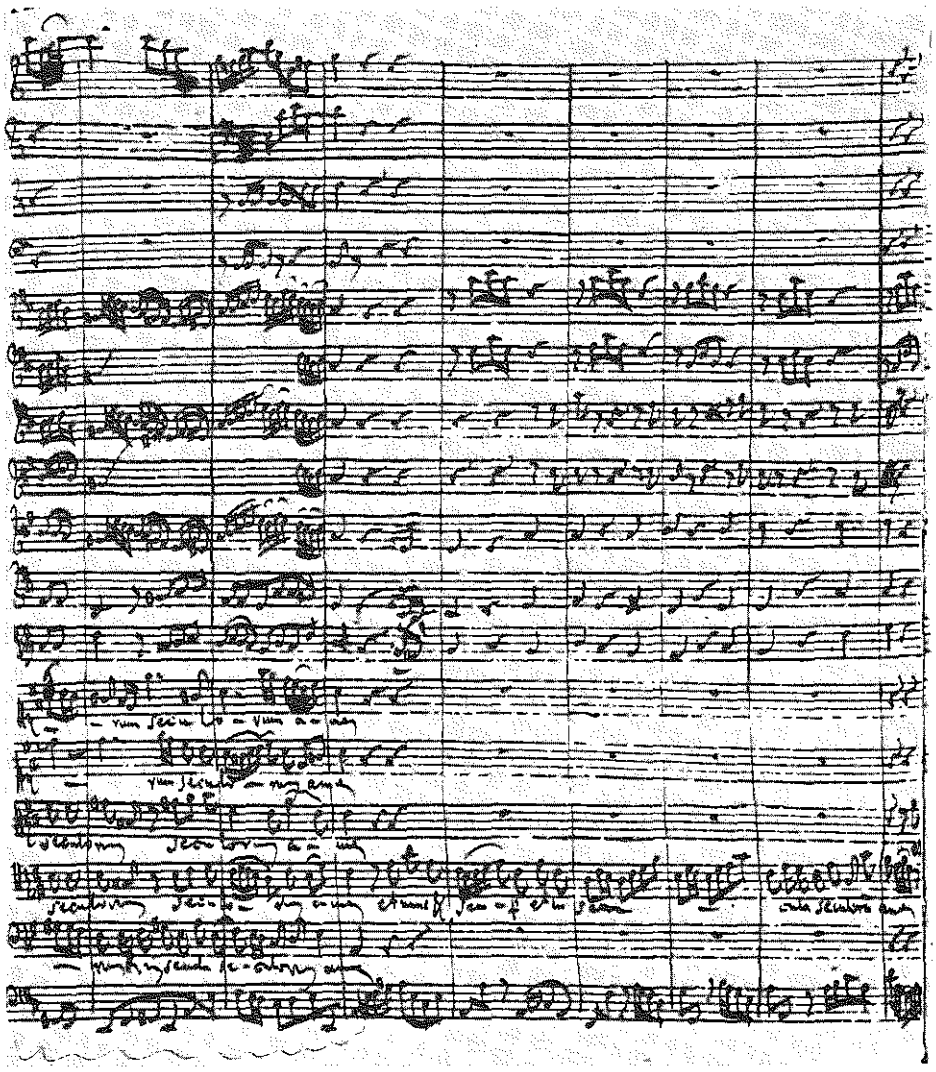

Table VII
Page 22 (sixth page of the third movement) from the autograph score of Cantata 191.

movement. The solo-tutti alternations are of unusual richness and unexpected variety. Table VI shows the measure that precedes the opening measure of "Cum sancto spiritu," both of these measures to be sung by the soloists prior to a single measure of tutti highlighted by the trumpets and kettledrums (see the wavy line below measure 3); a phrase similar to the opening three measures follows. After the fully-scored climactic passage, whose final measures (marked by a wavy line) are shown in Table VII, a five-part fugue begins. In contrast to the opening of the fugue "Cum sancto spiritu," this opening fugal exposition is accompanied delicately by wood-

winds and strings. Nevertheless, the wavy line ceases when the Tenor, followed by Alto and Soprano I, enters with the fugal subject (see Table VII). However, with the "false" entrance of Soprano II and the full statement of the theme in the Bass, the wavy line reappears. This, in fact, is a departure from the pattern of complete opening solo expositions — a pattern that Bach had established with the fugues in BWV 71/7, 22/1, 75/1, 76/1, 21/6, 21/11, 24/3, and 195/1.

Did Bach return to the use of the wavy line in this movement because he applied the solo-tutti principle in a slightly different way? Needless to say, the tutti entrance of the Bass, though unexpected, is not felt to be premature. In the subsequent orchestral episode (measures 68-73) Bach specified that the two lyrical measures 69 and 72 (corresponding to measures 64 and 66 in the "Cum sancto spiritu" movement of the B Minor Mass) be played "piano" and the throbbing accompaniment by the "Violoncello solo." In both instances the measures are answered by the full orchestra, marked "forte" (measures 70 and 73). With the climactic choral passage (measures 74-86) the wavy line reappears, but it ends with the second fugal exposition. Again, considering the eight fugal movements cited above, Bach surprises us here. He seems satisfied with the reinforcement that the doubling instruments supply (both oboes and violin I *colla parte* with Soprano I; violin II with the Alto; viola with the Tenor; both flauti traversi, oboe I and violin I with Soprano II). The wavy line reappears (in measure 106) with the fifth and last entrance of the theme. It is, as in the first fugal exposition, once more the entrance of the Bass that, doubled here by the continuo instruments, ushers in the wavy line and with it the tutti voices. That Bach omits the wavy line on the last page of the score (measure 112, last quarter — measure 134) is due to the fact that, adding to the seventeen staves of the score, he squeezed the last three measures at the bottom of the page into two parallel columns of eight staves each (trumpets II and III sharing one staff). It goes without saying that, with the trumpets going full blast, the tutti continues to the wonderfully abrupt quarter-note end of the movement.

The unusual manner in which Bach applied solo-tutti contrasts in this movement may therefore have been the reason why he employed the wavy line only here and not in the cantata's first movement with its fugue corresponding to that of "Et in terra pax." There the first and second fugal expositions do not seem to invite the extraordinary treatment that Bach indicated in the third movement. Today's performers might execute the first fugal exposition of "Et in terra pax" soloistically, using the first movement of BWV 195 as a model, and the second fugal exposition with the full chorus.

The fact that performance parts of Cantata 191 have not come down to us makes it impossible to prove beyond any doubt that the wavy lines in its

third movement represent the use of the ripieno voices. In the case of Cantata 71, however, the surviving parts do provide this proof, and there seems little reason to assume that in BWV 191/3 the wavy line should have a different meaning.

Alfred Dörffel, who in 1894 issued Cantata 191 for the *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition, apparently was the first to note the existence of the wavy lines in the third movement. He wondered whether the wavy lines appearing below the continuo part were meant to convey that the organist should play with "special force."[13] Alfred Dürr, whose edition of BWV 191 was issued during the early phase of the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* (1957), says the following about the wavy lines: "They demonstrate obviously a tutti reinforcement."[14] He offers two interpretations, both with slight reservations: the wavy lines indicate (a) the entrance of the bassoon or (b) the entrance of the ripieno voices.[15]

Since in his earlier path-breaking *Studien über die frühen Kantaten J.S. Bachs*[16] Dürr does not mention the wavy lines in the autograph score of Cantata 71, it is not too astonishing to find in the Critical Report for his edition of Cantata 191 his comment about the wavy lines to the effect that a corresponding entry in Bach's original scores had so far not been ascertained.[17] That Bach's use of the wavy line in Cantata 71 convincingly explains its meaning does not need to be reiterated here.[18]

Robert Shaw's recording of the B Minor Mass has given many of us a splendid chance to check the aptness of the solo-tutti application and its aesthetic effect. If we assume that the solo-tutti indications in the ten cantatas dealt with in this article, like those in the last movement of the A

[13]*Bach-Gesellschaft* edition, Vol. 41, 1894, p. xv.

[14]*Neue Bach-Ausgabe,* I/2, (Critical Report), 1957, p. 167.

[15]*Ibid.*

[16]Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1951.

[17]*Neue Bach-Ausgabe,* I/2, (Critical Report), p. 167.

[18]For the convenience of the choral conductor, I am listing below the measures with the wavy line from the third movement of Cantata 191, as transferred to "Cum sancto spiritu" of the B Minor Mass, so that a corresponding tutti-solo arrangement may be applied on the authority of Bach's own indications:

Measures 2–3 (first quarter note)
4 (second eighth note) - 9 (first quarter note)
10 (second eighth note) - 11 (first quarter note)
12 (second eighth note) - 17 (first quarter note)
21 (second eighth note) - 37 (first sixteenth note)
54 (second eighth note) - 64 (first quarter note)
68–81 (first eighth note)
100 (second eighth note) to the end of the movement

(See, however, the remarks made on page 49 above concerning the absence of the wavy line on the last page of Bach's score.)

Major Mass, BWV 234, can be construed as models for stylistically comparable movements in Bach's choral *oeuvre*, a general application of the solo-tutti principle — though as open to debate as Rilling's tutti and Rifkin's solo concept — remains a historically justifiable performance option. In the case of the much discussed B Minor Mass it has been proven to be artistically convincing by a host of modern Bach interpreters including the late Arthur Mendel, Robert Shaw, John Nelson, and the editor of this journal. To them the solo-tutti approach has been a means to the one and only end of all true music-making: a deep and inspired commitment to the work that Hans Georg Nägeli, its first publisher, called "the greatest musical work of art of all times and people."

While I own photographic reproductions of fifty-one autograph scores of Bach cantatas, including BWV 71, 22, and 191, as well as the facsimile editions of Bach's larger choral works, the need arose during the writing of this article to check all choral works regarding the existence of wavy lines. When I telephoned Paul Brainard in search of a student whom I might commission to do this work for me in the Princeton University Library's collection, he offered to do it himself. Words are inadequate to express my gratitude for the labor — and a week of labor it was — he undertook at a time when I was unable to make the trip to Princeton. He drew my attention to the decisive measure with a wavy line in the first movement of BWV 22 and gave me the knowledge I needed, namely, that beyond BWV 71 and the third movement of BWV 191 there are no more wavy lines in the almost complete copies of Bach's autograph scores of vocal music that are in Princeton. My heartfelt thanks go to Paul Brainard, true colleague and friend.

Tables I, II, III, V, VI, VII courtesy of Musikabteilung, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin/DDR.

Table IV courtesy of Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin.

Appendix

ALPHABETICAL AND NUMERICAL LISTINGS OF CANTATAS

The following lists are based on the arrangement of Sections 3 and 4 of the Index to Alfred Dürr's *Die Kantaten von Johann Sebastian Bach* and information contained in his discussion of the individual works as well as on Gerhard Herz's "The New Chronology of Bach's Vocal Music" (Edition of Cantata 140, Norton Critical Scores, New York, 1972).

Bach did not number his cantatas. The numbering used today represents the order in which the cantatas were published in the *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition (1850–1900). It was adopted in the *Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis* (BWV), the thematic catalogue of Bach's works published by Wolfgang Schmieder in 1950. In the alphabetical listing BWV numbers are given in parentheses after the respective cantata text beginnings. The choral scoring is indicated only for those cantatas that depart from the normal four-part texture; thus in all cases where *no* notation appears in the "chorus" column, the choral scoring is SATB. The notation "chorale" indicates that the work concerned contains a concluding four-part chorale as its only choral section.

The performance duration is obviously subject to variation; the number of minutes given here is to be understood as an estimated norm in each case. The two columns of dates refer to the chronology established by the Bach biographer Philipp Spitta in the 1880's and its modern revision based on the findings of Alfred Dürr and Georg von Dadelsen.

ALPHABETICAL LISTING

Title (No.)	Soli	Chorus	Duration in Mins.	Date Old	Date New
Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein (2)	ATB		20	1723–27	1724
Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleid (3)	SATB		27	1735–44	1725
Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleid (58)	SB	none	17	1733	1727
Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder (135)	ATB		17	1735–44	1724
Ach! ich sehe, itzt, da ich zur Hochzeit gehe (162)	SATB	chorale	18	1715	1715
Ach, lieben Christen, seid getrost (114)	SATB		26	1735–45	1724
Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig (26)	SATB		19	1735–45	1724
Ärgre dich, o Seele, nicht (186)	SATB		40	1716 Rev. 1723	1716
Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ (33)	ATB		27	1735–44	1724
Alles nur nach Gottes Willen (72)	SAB		20	1723–25	1715
Alles, was von Gott geboren (80a)—*lost*				1716	1715
Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt (68)	SB		20	1735	1725
Am Abend aber desselbigen Sabbats (42)	SATB	chorale	33	1731	1725
Amore traditore (203)	B	none	14		
Angenehmes Wiederau, freue dich (30a)	SATB		47	1737	1737
Auf Christi Himmelfahrt allein (128)	ATB		22	1735	1725
Auf, mein Herz! Des Herren Tag; *see:* Ich lebe, mein Herze (145)					
Auf, schmetternde Töne (207a)	SATB		31	1734	1735
Auf, süss entzückende Gewalt—*lost*				1725	1725
Aus der Tiefen rufe ich, Herr, zu dir (131)	SATB		24	1707	1707
Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir (38)	SATB		21	1735–44	1724
Barmherziges Herze der ewigen Liebe (185)	SATB	chorale	16	1715 Rev. 1723	1715
Bekennen will ich seinen Namen (200)			5	1735–49	1741–49
Bereitet die Wege, bereitet die Bahn (132)	SATB	chorale	22	1715	1715

Title (No.)	Soli	Chorus	Duration in Mins.	Date Old	Date New
Bisher habt ihr nichts gebeten in meinem Namen (87)	ATB	chorale	22	1735	1725
Blast Lärmen, ihr Feinde (205a)—*lost*				1734	1734
Bleib bei uns, denn es will Abend werden (6)	SATB		26	1736	1725
Brich dem Hungrigen dein Brot (39)	SAB		24	1732	1726
Bringet dem Herrn Ehre seines Namens (148)	AT		23	1725	1725
Christ lag in Todesbanden (4)	SATB		22	1724	1707 Rev. 1724
Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam (7)	ATB		26	1735–44	1724
Christen, ätzet diesen Tag (63)	STAB		30	1723	1713
Christum wir sollen loben schon (121)	SATB		21	1735–44	1724
Christus, der ist mein Leben (95)	STB		21	1732	1723
Das ist je gewisslich wahr (141)—*spurious*	ATB				
Das neugeborne Kindelein (122)	SATB		20	1742	1724
Darzu ist erschienen der Sohn Gottes (40)	ATB		20	1723	1723
Dem Gerechten muss das Licht (195)	STB		16	1730	1741–49
Denn du wirst meine Seele nicht in der Hölle lassen (15)—*spurious*	SATB				
Der Friede sei mit dir (158)	SB	chorale	12		
Der Herr denket an uns (196)	STB		14	1708	1708
Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt (112)	SATB		15	1731	1731
Der Himmel dacht auf Anhalts Ruhm und Glück (66a)—*lost*	ATB			1718	1718
Der Himmel lacht! die Erde jubilieret (31)	STB	SSATB	24	1715	1715 Rev. 1731
Dich loben die lieblichen Strahlen der Sonne (App. 6)—*lost*				1720	1720
Die Elenden sollen essen (75)	SATB		40	1723	1723
Die Freude reget sich (36b)	SATB		30	1733	1732–35
Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes (76)	SATB		35	1723	1723
Die Zeit, die Tag und Jahre macht (134a)	AT		41	1718–19	1719
Du Friedefürst, Herr Jesu Christ (116)	SATB		21	1745	1724
Du Hirte Israel, höre (104)	TB		23	1723–27	1724

Title (No.)	Soli	Chorus	Duration in Mins.	Date Old	Date New
Du sollt Gott, deinen Herren, lieben (77)	SATB		17	1723–27	1723
Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn (23)	SAT		20	1723	1723
Durchlauchster Leopold (173a)	SATB		23	1717	1722
Ehre sei dir, Gott, gesungen (248, V) (*Christmas Oratorio*)	SATB		26	1734	1734
Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe (197a)—*lost*				1730–32	1728
Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott (80)	SATB		30	1730–39	1724
Ein Herz, das seinen Jesum lebend weiss (134)	AT		29	1731	1724
Ein ungefärbt Gemüte (24)	ATB		21	1723	1723
Entfernet euch, ihr heitern Sterne (App. 9)—*lost*				1727	1727
Entfliehet, verschwindet, entweichet, ihr Sorgen (249a)	SATB	none	47	1725	1725
Er rufet seinen Schafen mit Namen (175)	ATB	chorale	18	1735–36	1725
Erforsche mich, Gott, und erfahre mein Herz (136)	ATB		21	1723	1723
Erfreut euch, ihr Herzen (66)	ATB		32	1731	1724
Erfreute Zeit im neuen Bunde (83)	ATB	chorale	20	1724	1724
Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort (126)	ATB		22	1735–44	1725
Erhöhtes Fleisch und Blut (173)	SATB		17	1730	1724
Erschallet, ihr Lieder (172)	SATB		25	1724–25	1714
Erwählte Pleissenstadt (216a)—*lost*					
Erwünschtes Freudenlicht (184)	SAT		25	1723	1723
Es erhub sich ein Streit (19)	STB		22	1725–26	1726
Es ist das Heil uns kommen her (9)	SATB		28	1731	1732–35
Es ist dir gesagt, Mensch, was gut ist (45)	ATB		23	1735–44	1726
Es ist ein trotzig und verzagt Ding (176)	SAB		13	1732–35	1725
Es ist euch gut, dass ich hingehe (108)	ATB		20	1735	1725
Es ist nichts Gesundes an meinem Leibe (25)	STB		16	1731	1723
Es lebe der König, der Vater im Lande (App. 11)—*lost*				1732	1732
Es reisset euch ein schrecklich Ende (90)*	ATB	chorale	14	1740	1723

* The text version "reifet" is an error contained in earlier editions.

Title (No.)	Soli	Chorus	Duration in Mins.	Date Old	Date New
Es wartet alles auf dich (187)	SAB		25	1732	1726
Fallt mit Danken, fallt mit Loben (248, IV) (*Christmas Oratorio*)	SSTB		27	1734	1734
Falsche Welt, dir trau ich nicht (52)	S	chorale	18	1730	1726
Freue dich, erlöste Schar (30)	SATB		40	1738	1736–40
Froher Tag, verlangte Stunden (App. 18)—*lost*				1732	1732
Frohes Volk, vergnügte Sachesen (App. 12)—*lost*				1733	1733
Geist und Seele wird verwirret (35)	A	none	31	1731	1726
Gelobet sei der Herr, mein Gott (129)	SAB		24	1732	1726
Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ (91)	SATB		20	1735–44	1724
Geschwinde, ihr wirbelnden Winde (201) (*Der Streit zwischen Phoebus und Pan*)	SATTBB	none	54	1731	1729
Gesegnet ist die Zuversicht (App. 1)—*lost*					
Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee (18)	STB		21	1713–14	1713
Gloria in excelsis Deo (191)	ST	SSATB	17	1740	1741–49
Gott der Herr ist Sonn und Schild (79)	SAB		17	1735	1725
Gott fähret auf mit Jauchzen (43)	SATB		25	1735	1726
Gott, gib dein Gerichte dem Könige (App. 3)—*lost*				1730	1730
Gott ist mein König (71)	SATB		20	1708	1708
Gott ist unsre Zuversicht (197)	SAB		20	1737–38	1736–40
Gott, man lobet dich in der Stille (120)	SATB		26	1728	1728
Gott, man lobet dich in der Stille (120b)—*lost*					
Gott soll allein mein Herze haben (169)	A	chorale	27	1731–32	1726
Gott, wie dein Name, so ist auch dein Ruhm (171)	SATB		22	1730–36	1729
Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit (106)	AB		23	1711	1707
Gottlob! nun geht das Jahr zu Ende (28)	SATB		20	1723–36	1725
Halt im Gedächtnis Jesum Christ (67)	ATB		17	1723–27	1724
Herr Christ, der einge Gottessohn (96)	SATB		17	1735–44	1724
Herr, deine Augen sehen nach dem Glauben (102)	ATB		24	1731–32	1726

Title (No.)	Soli	Chorus	Duration in Mins.	Date Old	Date New
Herr, gehe nicht ins Gericht (105)	SATB		25	1723–27	1723
Herr Gott, Beherrscher aller Dinge (120a)—*incomplete*	SATB			1728–33	1729
Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir (130)	SATB		14	1735–44	1724
Herr Gott, dich loben wir (16)	ATB		21	1724	1726
Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Gut (113)	SATB		30	1724	1724
Herr Jesu Christ, wahr' Mensch und Gott (127)	STB		21	1735–44	1725
Herr, wenn die stolzen Feinde schnauben (248, VI) (*Christmas Oratorio*)	SATB		25	1734	1734
Herr, wie du willt, so schicks mit mir (73)	STB		17	1723–27	1724
Herrscher des Himmels, erhöre das Lallen (248, III) (*Christmas Oratorio*)	SATB		26	1734	1734
Herrscher des Himmels, König der Ehren—*lost*				1740	1740
Herz und Mund und Tat und Leben (147)	SATB		34	1716 Rev. 1723	1716 Rev. 1727
Herz und Mund und Tat und Leben (147a)				1716	1716
Heut ist gewiss ein guter Tag (App. 7)—*lost*				1720	1720
Himmelskönig, sei willkommen (182)	ATB		30	1714–15	1714
Höchsterwünschtes Freudenfest (194)	SATB		39	1723	1717–23 Rev. 1723
Ich armer Mensch, ich Sündenknecht (55)	T	chorale	15	1731–32	1726
Ich bin ein guter Hirt (85)	SATB	chorale	20	1735	1725
Ich bin ein Pilgrim in der Welt—*almost completely lost*				1729	1729
Ich bin in mir vergnügt (204)	S	none	31	1728	1726–27
Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Glücke (84)	S	chorale	16	1731–32	1727
Ich elender Mensch, wer wird mich erlösen (48)	AT		16	1732	1723
Ich freue mich in dir (133)	SATB		20	1735–37	1724
Ich geh und suche mit Verlangen (49)	SB	none	29	1731	1726

Title (No.)	Soli	Chorus	Duration in Mins.	Date Old	Date New
Ich glaube, lieber Herr, hilf meinem Unglauben (109)	AT		25	1727–36	1723
Ich hab in Gottes Herz und Sinn (92)	SATB		33	1735–44	1725
Ich habe genung (82)	B	none	23	1731–32	1727
Ich habe meine Zuversicht (188)	SATB	chorale	29	1731	1728
Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis (21)	STB		44	1714	1713 Rev. 1723
Ich lasse dich nicht, du segnest mich denn (157)	TB	chorale	21	1727	1727
Ich lebe, mein Herze, zu deinem Ergötzen (145)	STB		19	1729–30	1729
Ich liebe den Höchsten von ganzem Gemüte (174)	ATB	chorale	23	1729	1729
Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ (177)	SAT		28	1732	1732
Ich steh mit einem Fuss im Grabe (156)	ATB	chorale	17	1729–30	1729
Ich weiss, dass mein Erlöser lebt (160)—*spurious*	T	none			
Ich will den Kreuzstab gerne tragen (56)	B	chorale	21	1731–32	1726
Ihr, die ihr euch von Christo nennet (164)	SATB	chorale	17	1723–24	1725
Ihr Häuser des Himmels (193a)—*lost*	SA			1717–23	1717–23
Ihr Menschen, rühmet Gottes Liebe (167)	SATB	chorale	18	1723–27	1723
Ihr Tore [Pforten] zu Zion (193)—*incomplete*	SA			1738	1726
Ihr wallenden Wolken—*lost*					
Ihr werdet weinen und heulen (103)	AT		18	1735	1725
In allen meinen Taten (97)	SATB		32	1734	1734
Jauchzet, frohlocket! (248, I) (*Christmas Oratorio*)	SATB		29	1734	1734
Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen (51)	S	none	20	1731–32	1730
Jesu, der du meine Seele (78)	SATB		25	1735–44	1724
Jesu, nun sei gepreiset (41)	SATB		30	1735–36	1725
Jesus nahm zu sich die Zwölfe (22)	ATB		20	1723	1723
Jesus schläft, was soll ich hoffen (81)	ATB	chorale	19	1724	1724
Klagt, Kinder, klagt es aller Welt (244a)—*lost*				1728	1729
Komm, du süsse Todesstunde (161)	AT		19	1715	1715
Kommt, eilet und laufet (249) (*Easter Oratorio*)	SATB		47	1736	1725

Title (No.)	Soli	Chorus	Duration in Mins.	Date Old	Date New
Lass, Fürstin, lass noch einen Strahl (198)	SATB		35	1727	1727
Lasst uns sorgen, lasst uns wachen (213)	SATB		45	1733	1733
Leb ich, oder leb ich nicht—*lost*					
Leichgesinnte Flattergeister (181)	SATB		14	1723–27	1724
Liebster Gott, wenn werd ich sterben (8)	SATB		23	1724	1724
Liebster Immanuel, Herzog der Frommen (123)	ATB		22	1735–44	1725
Liebster Jesu, mein Verlangen (32)	SB	chorale	24	1740	1726
Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren (137)	SATB		18	1732–47	1725
Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele (69)	SATB		27	1724	1741–49
Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele (69a)	SATB		27	1724	1723
Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele (143)	STB		14	1735	1708–14
Lobet den Herrn, alle seine Heerscharen (App. 5)—*lost*				1718	1718
Lobet Gott in seinen Reichen (11) (*Ascension Oratorio*)	SATB		32	1730–40	1735
Mache dich, mein Geist, bereit (115)	SATB		22	1735–44	1724
Man singet mit Freuden vom Sieg (149)	SATB		22	1731	1728
Mein Gott, wie lang, ach lange (155)	SATB	chorale	13	1716	1716
Mein Gott, nimm die gerechte Seele (App. 17)—*lost*					
Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut (199)	S	none	26	1714–15	1714
Mein liebster Jesus ist verloren (154)	ATB	chorale	17	1735–44	1724
Meine Seel erhebt den Herren (10)	SATB		23	1724	1724
Meine Seele rühmt und preist (189) —*spurious*	T	none			
Meine Seele soll Gott loben (223)—*lost*				1708	1708
Meine Seufzer, meine Tränen (13)	SATB	chorale	21	1740	1726
Meinen Jesum lass ich nicht (124)	SATB		17	1735–44	1725
Mer hahn en neue Oberkeet (212) (*Peasant Cantata*)	SB	none	30	1742	1742
Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin (125)	ATB		24	1735–44	1725
Mit Gnaden bekröne der Himmel die Zeiten; *see* Die Zeit, die Tag und Jahre macht (134a)	AT		41		

Title (No.)	Soli	Chorus	Duration in Mins.	Date Old	Date New
Murmelt nur, ihr heitern Bäche—*lost*					
Nach dir, Herr, verlanget mich (150)	SATB		17	1712	1708–10
Nimm von uns, Herr, du treuer Gott (101)	SATB		25	1735–44	1724
Nimm, was dein ist, und gehe hin (144)	SAT		16	1723–27	1724
Non sa che sia dolore (209)	S	none	24		
Nun danket alle Gott (192)	SB		15	1731–46	1730
Nun ist das Heil und die Kraft (50)	none	SSAATTBB	5	1740	1723
Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland (61)	STB		18	1714	1714
Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland (62)	SATB		22	1735–44	1724
Nur jedem das Seine (163)	SATB	chorale	18	1715	1715
O angenehme Melodei (210a)—*incomplete*	S	none		1739	1736–40
O ewiges Feuer, o Ursprung der Liebe (34) (For Whitsuntide)	ATB		21	1740–41	1741–49
O ewiges Feuer, o Ursprung der Liebe (34a)—*incomplete* (*Wedding Cantata*)	ATB			1730–34	1726
O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort (20)	ATB		31	1723–27	1724
O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort (60)	ATB	chorale	20	1732	1723
O heilges Geist- und Wasserbad (165)	SATB	chorale	15	1724	1715
O holder Tag, erwünschte Zeit (210)	S	none	39	1734–35	1741–49
O Jesu Christ (118)*	none			1748	1736–37
Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen (215)			37	1734	1734
Preise, Jerusalem, den Herrn (119)	SATB		27	1723	1723
Schau, lieber Gott, wie meine Feind (153)	ATB	chorale	15	1724–27	1724
Schauet doch und sehet (46)	ATB		20	1723–27	1723
Schlage doch, gewünschte Stunde (53)—*spurious*	A	none			
Schleicht, spielende Wellen (206)	SATB		43	1733	1736
Schliess die Gruft! ihr Trauerglocken (App. 16)—*lost*					
Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele (180)	SATB		28	1735–44	1724
Schweigt stille, plaudert nicht (211)	STB	none	27	1732	1732–35

* This brief work for four-part chorus and brass ensemble (the latter subsequently rearranged by Bach for woodwinds and strings)—one of the most beautiful choral pieces from Bach's later years—is listed as Cantata No. 118 in the old complete edition of Bach's works, but in accordance with its original title it is included in the motet volume of the new complete edition.—Ed.

Title (No.)	Soli	Chorus	Duration in Mins.	Date Old	Date New
Schwingt freudig euch empor (36) (Advent)	SATB		31	1728–36	1731
Schwingt freudig euch empor (36c) (*Birthday Cantata*)	SATB		29	1733–34	1725
Sehet, welch eine Liebe (64)	SAB		25	1723	1723
Sehet, wir gehn hinauf gen Jerusalem (159)	ATB	chorale	17	1727	1729
Sei Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut (117)	ATB		26	1733	1728–31
Sein Segen fliesst daher wie ein Strom (App. 14)—*lost*				1725	1725
Selig ist der Mann (57)	SB	chorale	28	1740	1725
Sie werden aus Saba alle kommen (65)	TB		18	1724–25	1724
Sie werden euch in den Bann tun (44)	SATB		22	1723–27	1724
Sie werden euch in den Bann tun (183)	SATB	chorale	15	1735	1725
Siehe der Hüter Israel (App. 15)—*lost*				1724	1724
Siehe, ich will viel Fischer aussenden (88)	SATB	chorale	22	1732	1726
Siehe zu, dass deine Gottesfurcht nicht Heuchelei sei (179)	STB		19	1724	1723
Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied (190)	ATB		19	1724	1724
Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied (190a)—*lost*					
So du mit deinem Munde; *see:* Ich lebe, mein Herze (145)					
So kämpfet nur, ihr muntern Töne (App. 10)—*lost*				1731	1731
Steigt freudig in die Luft (36a)—*lost*	SATB			1726	1726
Süsser Trost, mein Jesus kommt (151)	SATB	chorale	18	1735–40	1725
Thomana sass annoch betrübt (App. 19)—*lost*				1734	1734
Tönet, ihr Pauken! Erschallet, Trompeten! (214)			27	1733	1733
Tritt auf die Glaubensbahn (152)	SB	none	21	1714	1714
Tue Rechnung! Donnerwort (168)	SATB	chorale	17	1715	1725
Und es waren Hirten in derselben Gegend (248, II) (*Christmas Oratorio*)	SATB			1723–24	1734

Title (No)	Soli	Chorus	Duration in Mins.	Date Old	Date New
Uns ist ein Kind geboren (142)—*spurious*	ATB				
Unser Mund sei voll Lachens (110)	SATB		27	1734	1725
Vereinigte Zwietracht der wechselnden Saiten (207)	SATB		32	1726	1726
Vergnügte Pleissenstadt (216)—*incomplete*				1728	1728
Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust (170)	A	none	24	1731–32	1726
Verjaget, zerstreuet, zerrüttet, ihr Sterne (249b)—*lost*				1726	1726
Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme (140)	STB		31	1731–42	1731
Wachet! betet! betet! wachet! (70)	SATB		26	1723	1723
Wachet! betet! betet! wachet! (70a)				1716	1716
Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit (14)	STB		18	1735	1735
Wahrlich, wahrlich, ich sage euch (86)	SATB	chorale	18	1723–27	1724
Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz (138)	SATB		20	1732	1723
Was frag ich nach der Welt (94)	SATB		23	1735	1724
Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan (98)	SATB		17	1731–32	1726
Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan (99)	SATB		21	1733	1724
Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan (100)	SATB		25	1732–35	1732–35
Was mein Gott will, das gscheh allzeit (111)	SATB		22	1735–44	1725
Was mir behagt, ist nur die muntre Jagd (208, 208a)	SSTB	SSTB	39	1716	1713
Was soll ich aus dir machen, Ephraim (89)	SAB	chorale	14	1732	1723
Was willst du dich betrüben (107)	STB		20	1735	1724
Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten (202)	S	none	23	1718–23	1718–23
Weinen, Klagen, Sorgen, Zagen (12)	ATB		28	1714	1714
Wer da gläubet und getauft wird (37)	SATB		21	1729	1724
Wer Dank opfert, der preiset mich (17)	SATB		19	1732–37	1726
Wer mich liebet, der wird mein Wort halten (59)	SB	chorale	14	1728	1723
Wer mich liebet, der wird mein Wort halten (74)	SATB		24	1731–35	1725
Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten (93)	SATB		23	1728	1724

Title (No.)	Soli	Chorus	Duration in Mins.	Date Old	Date New
Wer sich selbst erhöhet, der soll erniedriget werden (47)	SB		24	1720	1726
Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende (27)	SATB		19	1731	1726
Widerstehe doch der Sünde (54)	A	none	14	1730	1714
Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern (1)	STB		25	1733–44	1725
Willkommen! Ihr herrschenden Götter der Erden (App. 13)—*lost*				1728	1728
Wir danken dir, Gott, wir danken dir (29)	SATB		28	1731	1731
Wir müssen durch viel Trübsal (146)	SATB		40	1740	1726
Wo gehest du hin (166)	ATB	chorale	17	1723–27	1724
Wo Gott, der Herr, nicht bei uns hält (178)	ATB		23	1735–44	1724
Wo soll ich fliehen hin (5)	SATB		23	1735–45	1724
Wohl dem, der sich auf seinen Gott (139)	SATB		23	1735–45	1724
Wünschet Jerusalem Glück (App. 4) —*lost*				1727	1726
Zerreisset, zersprenget, zertrümmert die Gruft (205)	SATB		41	1725	1725

LISTING ACCORDING TO BWV NUMBERS

1 Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern
2 Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein
3 Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleid
4 Christ lag in Todesbanden
5 Wo soll ich fliehen hin
6 Bleib bei uns, denn es will Abend werden
7 Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam
8 Liebster Gott, wenn werd ich sterben
9 Es ist das Heil uns kommen her
10 Meine Seel erhebt den Herren
11 Lobet Gott in seinen Reichen (*Ascension Oratorio*)
12 Weinen, Klagen, Sorgen, Zagen
13 Meine Seufzer, meine Tränen
14 Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit
15 Denn du wirst meine Seele nicht in der Hölle lassen
16 Herr Gott, dich loben wir
17 Wer Dank opfert, der preiset mich
18 Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee
19 Es erhub sich ein Streit
20 O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort
21 Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis
22 Jesus nahm zu sich die Zwölfe
23 Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn
24 Ein ungefärbt Gemüte
25 Es ist nichts Gesundes an meinem Leibe
26 Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig
27 Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende
28 Gottlob! nun geht das Jahr zu Ende
29 Wir danken dir, Gott, wir danken dir
30 Freue dich, erlöste Schar
30a Angenehmes Wiederau, freue dich
31 Der Himmel lacht! die Erde jubilieret
32 Liebster Jesu, mein Verlangen
33 Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ
34 O ewiges Feuer, o Ursprung der Liebe
34a O ewiges Feuer, o Ursprung der Liebe
35 Geist und Seele wird verwirret
36 Schwingt freudig euch empor
36a Steigt freudig in die Luft
36b Die Freude reget sich
36c Schwingt freudig euch empor

37 Wer da gläubet und getauft wird
38 Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir
39 Brich dem Hungrigen dein Brot
40 Darzu ist erschienen der Sohn Gottes
41 Jesu, nun sei gepreiset
42 Am Abend aber desselbigen Sabbats
43 Gott fähret auf mit Jauchzen
44 Sie werden euch in den Bann tun
45 Es ist dir gesagt, Mensch, was gut ist
46 Schauet doch und sehet
47 Wer sich selbst erhöhet, der soll erniedriget werden
48 Ich elender Mensch, wer wird mich erlösen
49 Ich geh und suche mit Verlangen
50 Nun ist das Heil und die Kraft
51 Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen
52 Falsche Welt, dir trau ich nicht
53 Schlage doch, gewünschte Stunde
54 Widerstehe doch der Sünde
55 Ich armer Mensch, ich Sündenknecht
56 Ich will den Kreuzstab gerne tragen
57 Selig ist der Mann
58 Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleid
59 Wer mich liebet, der wird mein Wort halten
60 O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort
61 Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland
62 Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland
63 Christen, ätzet diesen Tag
64 Sehet, welch eine Liebe
65 Sie werden aus Saba alle kommen
66 Erfreut euch, ihr Herzen
66a Der Himmel dacht auf Anhalts Ruhm und Glück
67 Halt im Gedächtnis Jesum Christ
68 Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt
69 Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele
69a Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele
70 Wachet! betet! betet! wachet!
70a Wachet! betet! betet! wachet!
71 Gott ist mein König
72 Alles nur nach Gottes Willen
73 Herr, wie du willt, so schicks mit mir
74 Wer mich liebet, der wird mein Wort halten
75 Die Elenden sollen essen
76 Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes
77 Du sollt Gott, deinen Herren, lieben
78 Jesu, der du meine Seele
79 Gott der Herr ist Sonn und Schild
80 Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott

80a Alles, was von Gott geboren
81 Jesus schläft, was soll ich hoffen
82 Ich habe genung
83 Erfreute Zeit im neuen Bunde
84 Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Glücke
85 Ich bin ein guter Hirt
86 Wahrlich, wahrlich, ich sage euch
87 Bisher habt ihr nichts gebeten in meinem Namen
88 Siehe, ich will viel Fischer aussenden
89 Was soll ich aus dir machen, Ephraim
90 Es reisset euch ein schrecklich Ende
91 Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ
92 Ich hab in Gottes Herz und Sinn
93 Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten
94 Was frag ich nach der Welt
95 Christus, der ist mein Leben
96 Herr Christ, der einge Gottessohn
97 In allen meinen Taten
98 Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan
99 Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan
100 Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan
101 Nimm von uns, Herr, du treuer Gott
102 Herr, deine Augen sehen nach dem Glauben
103 Ihr werdet weinen und heulen
104 Du Hirte Israel, höre
105 Herr, gehe nicht ins Gericht
106 Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit
107 Was willst du dich betrüben
108 Es ist euch gut, dass ich hingehe
109 Ich glaube, lieber Herr, hilf meinem Unglauben
110 Unser Mund sei voll Lachens
111 Was mein Gott will, das gscheh allzeit
112 Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt
113 Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Gut
114 Ach, lieben Christen, seid getrost
115 Mache dich, mein Geist, bereit
116 Du Friedefürst, Herr Jesu Christ
117 Sei Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut
118 O Jesu Christ*
119 Preise, Jerusalem, den Herrn
120 Gott, man lobet dich in der Stille
120a Herr Gott, Beherrscher aller Dinge
120b Gott, man lobet dich in der Stille
121 Christum wir sollen loben schon
122 Das neugeborne Kindelein

* See footnote p. 23

123 Liebster Immanuel, Herzog der Frommen
124 Meinen Jesum lass ich nicht
125 Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin
126 Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort
127 Herr Jesu Christ, wahr' Mensch und Gott
128 Auf Christi Himmelfahrt allein
129 Gelobet sei der Herr, mein Gott
130 Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir
131 Aus der Tiefen rufe ich, Herr, zu dir
132 Bereitet die Wege, bereitet die Bahn
133 Ich freue mich in dir
134 Ein Herz, das seinen Jesum lebend weiss
134a Die Zeit, die Tag und Jahre macht
135 Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder
136 Erforsche mich, Gott, und erfahre mein Herz
137 Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren
138 Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz
139 Wohl dem, der sich auf seinen Gott
140 Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme
141 Das ist je gewisslich wahr
142 Uns ist ein Kind geboren
143 Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele
144 Nimm, was dein ist, und gehe hin
145 Ich lebe, mein Herze, zu deinem Ergötzen
146 Wir müssen durch viel Trübsal
147 Herz und Mund und Tat und Leben
147a Herz und Mund und Tat und Leben
148 Bringet dem Herrn Ehre seines Namens
149 Man singet mit Freuden vom Sieg
150 Nach dir, Herr, verlanget mich
151 Süsser Trost, mein Jesus kömmt
152 Tritt auf die Glaubensbahn
153 Schau, lieber Gott, wie meine Feind
154 Mein liebster Jesus ist verloren
155 Mein Gott, wie lang, ach lange
156 Ich steh mit einem Fuss im Grabe
157 Ich lasse dich nicht, du segnest mich denn
158 Der Friede sei mir dir
159 Sehet, wir gehn hinauf gen Jerusalem
160 Ich weiss, dass mein Erlöser lebt
161 Komm, du süsse Todesstunde
162 Ach! ich sehe, itzt, da ich zur Hochzeit gehe
163 Nur jedem das Seine
164 Ihr, die ihr euch von Christo nennet
165 O heilges Geist- und Wasserbad
166 Wo gehest du hin
167 Ihr Menschen, rühmet Gottes Liebe

168 Tue Rechnung! Donnerwort
169 Gott soll allein mein Herze haben
170 Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust
171 Gott, wie dein Name, so ist auch dein Ruhm
172 Erschallet, ihr Lieder
173 Erhöhtes Fleisch und Blut
173a Durchlauchtster Leopold
174 Ich liebe den Höchsten von ganzem Gemüte
175 Er rufet seinen Schafen mit Namen
176 Es ist ein trotzig und verzagt Ding
177 Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ
178 Wo Gott, der Herr, nicht bei uns hält
179 Siehe zu, dass deine Gottesfurcht nicht Heuchelei sei
180 Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele
181 Leichtgesinnte Flattergeister
182 Himmelskönig, sei willkommen
183 Sie werden euch in den Bann tun
184 Erwünschtes Freudenlicht
185 Barmherziges Herze der ewigen Liebe
186 Ärgre dich, o Seele, nicht
186a Ärgre dich, o Seele, nicht
187 Es wartet alles auf dich
188 Ich habe meine Zuversicht
189 Meine Seele rühmt und preist
190 Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied
190a Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied
191 Gloria in excelsis Deo
192 Nun danket alle Gott
193 Ihr Tore [Pforten] zu Zion
193a Ihr Häuser des Himmels
194 Höchsterwünschtes Freudenfest
195 Dem Gerechten muss das Licht
196 Der Herr denket an uns
197 Gott ist unsre Zuversicht
197a Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe
198 Lass, Fürstin, lass noch einen Strahl
199 Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut
200 Bekennen will ich seinen Namen
201 Geschwinde, ihr wirbelnden Winde
202 Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten
203 Amore traditore
204 Ich bin in mir vergnügt
205 Zerreisset, zersprenget, zertrümmert die Gruft
205a Blast Lärmen, ihr Feinde
206 Schleicht, spielende Wellen
207 Vereinigte Zwietracht der wechselnden Saiten
207a Auf, schmetternde Töne

208 Was mir behagt, ist nur die muntre Jagd
208a Was mir behagt, ist nur die muntre Jagd
209 Non sa che sia dolore
210 O holder Tag, erwünschte Zeit
210a O angenehme Melodei
211 Schweigt stille, plaudert nicht
212 Mer hahn en neue Oberkeet
213 Lasst uns sorgen, lasst uns wachen
214 Tönet, ihr Pauken! Erschallet, Trompeten!
215 Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen
216 Vergnügte Pleissenstadt
216a Erwählte Pleissenstadt
223 Meine Seele soll Gott loben
244a Klagt, Kinder, klagt es aller Welt
248 *Christmas Oratorio*
- I Jauchzet, frohlocket!
- II Und es waren Hirten in derselben Gegend
- III Herrscher des Himmels, erhöre das Lallen
- IV Fallt mit Danken, fallt mit Loben
- V Ehre sei dir, Gott, gesungen
- VI Herr, wenn die stolzen Feinde schnauben

249 Kommt, eilet und laufet (*Easter Oratorio*)
249a Entfliehet, verschwindet, entweichet, ihr Sorgen
249b Verjaget, zerstreuet, zerrüttet, ihr Sterne

App. 1 Gesegnet ist die Zuversicht
App. 2 [*Fragment without text*]
App. 3 Gott, gib dein Gerichte dem Könige
App. 4 Wünschet Jerusalem Glück
App. 5 Lobet den Herrn, alle seine Heerscharen
App. 6 Dich loben die lieblichen Strahlen der Sonne
App. 7 Heut ist gewiss ein guter Tag
App. 8 [*New Year's Cantata. Text unknown*]
App. 9 Entfernet euch, ihr heitern Sterne
App. 10 So kämpfet nun, ihr muntern Töne
App. 11 Es lebe der König, der Vater im Lande
App. 12 Frohes Volk, vergnügte Sachsen
App. 13 Willkommen, ihr herrschenden Götter der Erden
App. 14 Sein Segen fliesst daher wie ein Strom
App. 15 Siehe der Hüter Israel
App. 16 Schliesst die Gruft! ihr Trauerglocken
App. 17 Mein Gott, nimm die gerechte Seele
App. 18 Froher Tag, verlangte Stunden
App. 19 Thomana sass annoch betrübt
App. 20 [*Latin Ode. Text unknown*]

Cantatas without assigned numbers
Auf, süss entzückende Gewalt
Herrscher des Himmels, König der Ehren
Ich bin ein Pilgrim auf der Welt
Ihr wallenden Wolken
Leb ich, oder leb ich nicht
Murmelt nur, ihr heitern Bäche
[*Installation of the Town Council—Mühlhausen 1709*]

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